

THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CULTURE OF
LEARNING AND TEACHING IN SOUTH AFRICA (1910-2004)

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CULTURE OF LEARNING AND TEACHING IN SOUTH (1910-2004) is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of a complete references.

CR BALOYI

DATE

(STUDENT NO 680-949-9)

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated
to
my loveliest and most adorable wife
Phikiwe Jane
for her undying love, support and encouragements
and
our very special and most loved gifts
Ebenezer, Koinonia and Baal-Perazim.

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The author

Tzaneen

December 2004

SUMMARY

Formal state-controlled education has been a central element for social development

in South Africa since the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The establishment and promotion of a culture of learning and teaching is regarded as a pre-condition for high educational standards. This thesis is a study of the role of the state in the establishment of a culture of learning and teaching in South Africa from 1910 to 2004.

To understand the role that the state played in promoting, or inhibiting, a culture of learning and teaching, a historical review was taken of the state's role in formal schooling in the period of the Union (1910-1947), the era of apartheid (1948-1989), the transitional period (1990-1994) and in the era of the democratic South Africa. As an ideal, the state has a responsibility to ensure the establishment of a culture of learning and teaching. The historical review revealed, however, that the state used its policies to promote political rather than educational ideologies - and in the process, there was a complete breakdown in a culture of learning and teaching.

The establishment and promotion of a culture of learning and teaching towards the maintenance of high academic standards in South African state schools was the motivating force behind this study. Therefore, this study concludes with guidelines and recommendations grounded in the historical review that will hopefully promote a culture of learning and teaching in South African schools in future.

TITLE OF THESIS : THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF A CULTURE OF
LEARNING AND TEACHING IN SOUTH
AFRICA (1910-2004)

KEY TERMS

Culture of learning and teaching; the state; the Afrikaans language struggle (*taalstryd*),

Bantu Education Act (1953); apartheid education; Soweto student uprising (1976); South African teachers' protest actions; South African teacher unions; South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU); South African Schools Act (SASA); National Policy on Religion in Education; Outcomes-based education (OBE); Curriculum 2005 (C2005); Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS); Tirisano project; Whole School Evaluation (WSE); Developmental Appraisal System (DAS); Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS); private and home schools.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ATASA	-	African Teachers' Association of South Africa.
ANC	-	African National Congress.
CATA	-	Cape African Teachers' Association.
CNE	-	Christian National Education.
COLTS	-	Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service.

COSAS	-	Congress of South Africa Students.
COTEP	-	Committee on Teacher Education Policy.
C2005	-	Curriculum 2005.
DAS	-	Development Appraisal System.
DP	-	Democratic Party.
DETU	-	Democratic Teachers' Union.
DoE	-	Department of Education.
HSRC	-	Human Science Research Council.
IQMS	-	Integrated Quality Management System.
NAPTOSA	-	National Professional Teachers Organisation of South Africa.
NECC	-	National Education Coordinating Committee.
NTUF	-	National Teachers' Unity Forum.
NQF	-	National Qualification Framework.
OBE	-	Outcomes Based Education.
PAC	-	Pan Africanist Congress.
PEU	-	Professional Educators Union.
RNCS	-	Revised National Curriculum Statement.
SABC	-	South African Broadcasting Corporation.
SACP	-	South African Communist Party.
SADTU	-	South African Democratic Teachers Union.
SAPA	-	South African Press Association.

SASA_	South African Schools Act.
SAOU	- Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwyserunie.
SASA -	South African Qualification Authority.
SGB	- School Governing Body.
TABOK	- Trust vir Afrikaanse Beheerliggame vir Onderwys en Kultuur.
UN	- United Nations.
UNISA	- University of South Africa.
UTASA	- United Teachers' Association of South Africa.
WCTU	- Western Cape Teachers' Union.
WSE	- Whole School Evaluation.

CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION TO THE RESEARCH, PROBLEM FORMULATION AND AIMS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the dawn of the post-colonial era in the mid-twentieth century (that is, after the second World War), African states singled out formal education as a major factor in building a new, and hopefully, prosperous future for African people. Formal, state-controlled education, therefore, became a central element for social development in these countries. Education was to be used by the state as a tool for economic, political and social development (Morrow 1982:10). As a result, substantial amounts of African countries' national budgets were spent on education. South Africa is no exception. In South Africa, formal education is also regarded as an integral part of the broader process of social and economic change (Christie 1985:57, 257).

However, the history of formal education, especially Black education, in the twentieth century in South Africa, reveals a downward trend in the standard of formal education as well as the failure to firmly establish a culture of learning and teaching (see Behr 1984:195ff, 1988:36ff; Christie 1985:11; Fuphe in Sowetan, 08/03/2000:4; Hatchet

& Giffard 1984:3-4; Human Sciences Research Council 1981a:1ff; Liebenburg in *The Citizen*, 30/12/1999:1-2; Lorgat 2002:1; Mecoamere & Sapa in *Sowetan*, 28/12/1999:1; Misbach in *Sowetan*, 27/12/2001:1, 28/12/2002:2; Momberg in *The Citizen*, 31/12/2003:1-2; *Sunday Times*, 29/12/2002:1; *The Natal Mercury*, 01/03/1980:1-5; The National Education Conference 1992:1-2). Formal education, especially in historically Black schools, has been characterised by the following:

- * lack of adequate school buildings;
- * overcrowded classrooms;
- * lack of adequate equipment;
- * boycott of classes by learners and/or educators;
- * lack of suitably qualified teachers;
- * poor quality of teaching;
- * low levels of literacy and numeracy;
- * ill-preparation for examinations;
- * high drop-out and failure rates;
- * poor matriculation results; and
- * violence, which includes burning and vandalism of school property. (See Ahmed in *Daily Sun*, 03/06/2004:1; Behr 1984:195ff, 1988:196ff; Benghiat 2001:7; Bhengu in *Sowetan*, 03/09/1999:3; Bhengu & Sapa in *Sowetan*, 26/08/1999:1; Carter in *The Citizen*, 01/08/1999:7; Christie 1985:11; Hagen

& Sapa in *The Citizen*, 04/09/1999:1-2; Hatchen & Giffard 1984:3-4; Human Sciences Research Council 1981a:1ff; Kotlolo in *Sowetan*, 04/11/1999:3; Mohale in *Sowetan*, 24/05/2002:2; Mtshali in *Sunday Times*, 12/05/2002:4; Nare in *Daily Sun*, 08/06/2004:1; Ramothata in *Daily Sun*, 03/06/2004:4; Sapa in *City Press*, Sapa in *Daily Sun*, 17/09/2004:1-2; 05/09/2004:10; Seepe in *City Press*, 19/09/2004:1; Steyn 2002:88-89; *The Natal Mercury*, 01/03/1980:1-5.)

These visible signs “hide the deeper consequences of the crisis and the profound effects it has on the development of the human potential of our country with devastating consequences for the economic development in South Africa” (The National Education Conference 1992:2). More importantly, “it has destroyed the culture of learning within our communities ... This has led to a gradual but [definite] erosion of the need to learn - a feeling that education has no value and that the situation is without hope” (The National Education Conference 1992:1-2).

Formal education is vital to contemporary society, and its control by the state is accepted by most people as a self-evident truth. This thesis was an attempt to establish the extent to which state control of education is beneficial for establishing a culture of learning and teaching. The South African situation from 1910 to the present was researched.

1.2 MOTIVATION FOR RESEARCH

There are contrasting views regarding the underlying factors and/or elements behind the erosion of education in South Africa. The blame for the decline in the level of formal school education in South Africa as well as the culture of learning and teaching, in particular among the Black population, has been placed on the previous apartheid government and its policies (see Claassen 1995:457; Meerkotter 1998:53; The National Education Conference 1992:1-2). However, even after the major political and educational changes in South Africa that started in the late 1980s and the ultimate ushering in of the first democratic government in April 1994, the situation has not improved. This is evident in the following:

- * overcrowded classrooms and learners taught under trees, in shacks, mud huts, old church buildings and old and abandoned buses, due to lack of adequate classrooms and/or schools (Bhengu in Daily Sun, 30/01/2003:8; Heese & Badenhorst 1992:vii-viii; Makgatho in Sowetan, 18/01/2002:4, 15/06/2004:6; Mgibisa 2001:5; Mncwabe 1993:100ff; Mooki in Sowetan, 20/07/2004:5; Motloun in Sowetan, 14/06/2004:8);
- * poor working conditions in many schools due to the lack of basic educational

- resources, such as textbooks, teaching aids and libraries and basic facilities, such as water, sanitation and electricity (Mooki in Sowetan, 20/07/2004:5; Political Bureau in The Star, 01/06/2004:5; Sefara in The Star, 11/06/2004:5);
- * irregular attendance at schools and a general disregard for punctuality by learners and educators (Bhengu in Sowetan, 01/09/1999:6; Bengu in Daily Sun, 30/01/2003:8; Makhatho in Sowetan, 08/06/2004:6; Mpye in Sowetan Education, 06/08/1999:2; Rohan in Sowetan, 26/01/2000:11; Zulu in City Press, 30/12/2001:11);
 - * high level of dysfunction in many urban and rural schools due to the lack of commitment from educators (Badenhorst 1992:vii-viii; Lorgat 1999:3; Mma in City Press Plus 1, 03/10/1999:13; Mtshali in Sunday Times, 12/05/2002:4; The Citizen, 1999:12);
 - * frequent disruptions of the academic programme, through class boycotts and industrial action by teachers and learners (City Press, 01/08/1999:6; Liebenberg & Hill in The Citizen, 26/07/1999:1-2; Mecoamere in Sowetan, 03/09/2004:2; Monama & Mukunike in City Press, 01/08/1999:2; Ramothata in Daily Sun, 03/06/2004:4; Sapa in City Press, 05/09/2004:10; Sapa in Daily Sun, 17/09/2004:1-2; Seepe in City Press, 19/09/2004:1; Thulo in Daily Sun, 10/06/2004:4);
 - * lack of adequate lesson preparation on the part of teachers (Badenhorst

1992:vii-viii; Lorgat 1999:3; Moela in City Press Learning Press,
08/08/1999:1);

- * syllabi are not completed (Bhengu in Sowetan, 03/09.1999:3);
- * matriculation results remain poor and unsatisfactory (Fuphe in Sowetan,
08/03/; Lorgat 1999:3; Meerkotter 1998:51ff; Momberg in The Citizen,
31/12/2003:1-2; Mtshali in Sunday Times, 12/05/2002:4; Sunday Times
2002:1);
- * poor security, corruption, irregularities and fraud during tests and
examinations, including matriculation examinations, resulting in the loss of
integrity in the results (Mbete in Sunday World, 05/05/2000:6; Mecoamere
in Sowetan, 30/09/1999:6, 04/11/1999:3; Mohale in Sowetan,
24/05/2002:2; Seremane in Sowetan, 26/01/2000:11);
- * anti-social behaviour among learners and even teachers, which includes ~~crime~~
drug abuse, violence and vandalism of property (City Press, 01/09/1999:6;
Fulphe in Sowetan, 20/07/1999:5; Mamaila in Sowetan, 16/09/1999:4; Moela in
City Press, 01/08/1999:18; Nare in Daily Sun, 08/06/2004:5); and
- * abduction, rape and sexual harassment, in which educators are also
implicated (African Eye News Service in Daily Sun, 29/07/2004:4; African
Eye News Service in The Star, 24/06/2004:2; Mamaila in Sowetan,
04/08/1999:4).

Apart from blaming apartheid, the state, teachers and parents place the blame on one another for the decline and erosion of quality school education in South Africa. For example, the government puts much of the blame on educators, especially on their lack of discipline and professionalism. When addressing the 4th National Congress of South African Teachers' Union (SADTU) held in Durban, on September 6, 1998, the then Deputy President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, said: "There is a worrying level of unprofessional behaviour that is bedevilling the teaching profession" (Mbeki 1998:1). This was reiterated on September 26, 1999, by the then Minister of National Education, Professor Kader Asmal, at the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Conference of the same teachers' union (SADTU). Asmal said that educators are undisciplined, show a serious lack of professionalism in the performance of their duties, and are "not worth the salaries the Government [is] paying them" (Macoamere in Sowetan, 27/09/1999:1). Asmal also said that a major concern was "the [high] level of dysfunction in the township and rural schools caused by the lack of discipline and professionalism among teachers" (Mona in City Press Plus 1, 03/10/1999:13). Teachers' poor work-performance is generally characterised by the following:

- * lack of planning and preparation;
- * inability to motivate learners to be committed to their studies;
- * non-completion of syllabi;
- * giving insufficient written work; and

* absenteeism and late arrival at schools. (See Bhengu in Sowetan, 03/09/1999:3; Heese & Badenhorst 1992:vii-viii; Lorgat 1999:3; Macoamere in Sowetan, 27/09/1999:1; Mtshali in Sunday Times, 2002:4; Report on Provincial school support programme 1998:16-17; Sapa in The Citizen, 27/09/1999:1-2; Seremane in Sowetan, 26/01/2000:11; The Citizen, 25/08/1999:12; Zulu 2001:1.)

The government's negative view of educators' performances and attitudes is shared by parents. Parents accuse educators of a lack of total commitment to their duties, and they do "not see teachers as caring for their children's education" (Mona in City Press Plus 1, 03/10/1999:13). Parents allege that educators pursue personal interests and do not put the educational needs of learners first. Parents argue that the reason why educators "are prepared to down chalk at the slightest provocation is because many [teachers] do not have children at the [the Black public] schools [they are] disrupting", but have enrolled their children at private schools where a culture of learning and teaching and high standards of education are maintained. (Mona in City Press Plus 1, 03/10/1999:13). As a result, many "black parents [are] sending their children to independent and private schools" (Macoamere in Sowetan, 27/09/1999:1).

In 1999, private schools were not under state control. In 2002, however, a law was passed, Education Laws Amendment Act, Act no. 50 of 2002, that prescribes the

South African curriculum, Curriculum 2005 (C2005) and subsequently, the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) for compulsory use in all private and home schools.

Educators hold the government and the Ministry of National Education responsible for the disarray in school education. The then Minister of National Education, Kader Asmal, was said to display a “serious lack of knowledge and understanding of the teaching profession” (Mona in City Press Plus 1, 03/10/1999:13). Educators think that the government fails to recognise and honour the services that they provide - hence not supporting them and making their work more difficult. This, educators say, is reflected in the state’s:

- * delay or failure to supply learning and teaching materials;
- * weak control and supervision of schools;
- * failure to curb violence in schools; and
- * failure to provide better working conditions at schools as well as the low remunerations that educators receive. (See Boyle in Sunday Times, 08/08/2004:4; Bhengu in Daily Sun, 30/01/2003:8; Chikanga in The Citizen, 25/08/1999:3; Chuenyane in Sowetan, 25/08/1999:3; Mtshali in Sunday Times, 12/05/2002:4; Moela in City Press Learning Press, 08/09/1999:1; Momberg & Chikanga in The Citizen, 25/08/1999:1-2; Seepe in City Press,

The scenario, described above, indicates the seriousness of the problems in the state-controlled school education system in South Africa. The then Minister of National Education, Professor Kader Asmal, when addressing a Cape Town Press Club lunch in Cape Town, on September 7, 1999, indicated as much: “[To] say

there is a crisis at every level of South Africa’s education system is no exaggeration. ... As a Government we will try hard [to solve the problems in education], and then try again. But the Government alone can’t solve the problems in education” (Sapa in Sowetan, 08/09/1999:3). In 2004, ten years after the first democratic elections in South Africa, when addressing Parliament, the Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor, said that the culture of learning and teaching, and, subsequently, the quality of education in South Africa is still low, and all efforts need to be made to improve the situation (Jacaranda Radio News, 14/09/2004). Identification of ways and means of promoting a culture of learning and teaching, and the particular role that the state should play to establish it, is, therefore, imperative.

The decline in education, in particular Black education, in South Africa is linked to the history of the country. The purpose of history is to learn from the past so that disastrous mistakes are not repeated (Kirk 1955; 9; Venter 1979:174ff; Venter & Van

Heerden 1989:57). The opposition of Blacks to segregated education and the subsequent breakdown of the culture of learning and teaching among Blacks (see Behr 1984:195ff; Christie 1985:219ff, 1990:221ff; Claassen 1995:456ff; Hartshorne 1992:v, 60; Vos & Brits 1990:55ff), are an excellent, albeit tragic, example of the destructive power of governmental ideology and state policy. The facts as they pertain to Black education from 1910 to 2004 need, therefore, to be studied.

The education of Coloureds and Indians is not considered in this study due to the restricted scope of the research. White education, in contrast to the education of the other three racial groups, namely Blacks, Coloureds and Indians, flourished during the periods covered in this study, and the reasons for this will be sought. Black education is studied in detail, the reason being that Black education degenerated from a culture of learning and teaching during the period of the Union (1910-1947) to the complete collapse of such a culture during the apartheid era (1948-1994).

This study is an attempt to address the present educational crisis in state school education in South Africa. The aim is to determine the extent and manner of state control that are beneficial to the establishment of a culture of learning and teaching. The field of study comprises exemplars from South African education from 1910 to 2004. The study will analyse the use of state power in South African education, to

clarify the conditions under which state control is educationally, and morally, justified. While the study will focus on the state's role, as the accepted major role player in the provision of formal education (Hartshorne 1992:19), the role of other role players, such as teachers, learners and parents in education will, necessarily, also be studied.

The decline in a culture of learning and teaching in state-controlled schools in South Africa (see section 1.1) is of grave concern. Identification of ways and means of promoting a culture of learning and teaching, and the particular role of the state in establishing it, is imperative. This forms the rationale for this study. The motivation behind this study is the author's conviction that a climate in which learning and teaching can flourish must be nurtured because a democracy can only be successful if the people are well educated and disciplined. Nurturing such a climate is, therefore, important in South Africa, if we are to establish and build a true democratic society which will also promote national progress and prosperity.

1.3 CLARIFICATION OF TERMS

Two concepts which are pivotal in this study require explanation, namely, *state* and *a culture of learning and teaching*.

1.3.1 State

The Concise Oxford Dictionary explains that the concept *state* can refer to an “organized political community ...” or to a “legislative body” or “civil government”. The term has, thus, a broad definition, namely, the whole body politic, and a narrow definition, namely, the government. In this thesis the term state is used in the narrow sense, and the terms *state* and *government* are used interchangeably.

1.3.2 A culture of learning and teaching

The term *a culture of learning and teaching* can be explained in terms of its characteristics. The term is popularly used with reference to the word *culture* which is used according to its common meaning as a way of life (Gray & McGuigan 1993:6). The term *a culture of learning and teaching* refers, therefore, to learners and teachers for whom learning and teaching is a way of life. This implies dedication to high academic standards by learners and teachers who, furthermore, live and work in a supportive community. In other words, the term implies that dedication to quality education pervades the whole education system, be it the matters of state policies, educational facilities and resources, teacher training and parental support.

1.4 AIM OF THE STUDY

The overall aim of the study is two-fold. First, the study aims at identifying factors and/or role players that underlie the provision of quality school education. These will encompass the following:

- * factors which underlie successful learning and teaching;
- * factors which contributed towards a decline in the culture of learning and teaching in South Africa;
- * the role of the state (and other role players in education) in promoting or limiting effective learning and teaching; and
- * the role of the state (and other role players in education) in the establishment of a learning and teaching culture in South Africa.

Secondly, the study aims at recommending steps for improving school education in South Africa, as well as describing the role that the state and other role players should play in the restoration of a culture of learning and teaching.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

1.5.1 Research approach

The purpose of history (as mentioned in section 1.2) is to learn from the past so that disastrous mistakes are not repeated. In this study the problem-historical approach was used. This approach proceeds from the assumption that present day issues can only be clearly understood if they are seen from a historical perspective (Kirk 1955:9; Venter 1979:174ff; Venter & Van Heerden 1989:57). The problem that was researched was the role of the state in establishing, or neglecting to establish, a learning and teaching culture in South Africa from 1910 to 2004.

The problem-historical approach calls for a search in the temporal-spatial dimension (Venter 1979:203-205, 1986:4), which in this study meant that certain historical periods were chosen as exemplars to be researched. Knowledge from the following border disciplines was relevant for this educational problem:

- * History, since the state's role in formal school education, that is, in the actual terrain of learning and teaching is studied in its historical dimension;
- * Sociology, since the school and the learning and teaching which occur in school are linked to and exist as part of society;
- * Economics, since the functioning of the school and the realisation of effective learning and teaching depend, inter alia, on the allocation and availability of funds;

- * Politics, since state schools operate within the context of the country's governmental policies which dictate the form and structure of school education; and
- * Psychology, in order to understand the attitude and psyche of the learners, educators and/or parents.

The method that is usually implemented in conjunction with the problem-historical approach, namely the historical-educational method (Venter & Van Heerden 1989:111ff), is also used in this study. This method involves research into one or more historical exemplars in order to address the identified contemporary educational problem by identifying universal educational verities.

The historical-educational method as applied in this study involved the following steps:

- * problem formulation;
- * data search; and
- * data recording or report writing.

These steps, as they were implemented in this study, are explained in the following subsections.

1.5.2 Problem formulation

The pivotal problem which this thesis addresses is the following: What are the manner and extent of state control of education which benefit the establishment of a culture of learning and teaching?

From this central problem, the following sub-problems arise:

- * What factors underlie effective learning and teaching?
- * What factors limit or inhibit effective learning and teaching?
- * What role does the state, in particular, play in promoting or limiting a culture of learning and teaching?
- * What possible steps can be taken to promote and/or ensure a learning and teaching culture in institutions of education, in particular those in South Africa?

1.5.3 Data search

The problem-historical approach and the historical-educational method were applied in this study to serve as systematic research tools to determine the role the state played in establishing, or neglecting to establish, a learning and teaching culture during the

chosen historical exemplars, by means of primary and secondary sources. The historical exemplars used in this study are the following:

- * the era of the Union of South Africa (1910-1947);
- * the apartheid era (1948-1989);
- * the transitional/reformist era (1990-1994); and
- * the era of democracy in South Africa (1994-2004).

Primary sources were used to provide the main sources of information. These include reports, journals and periodicals, educational bulletins, case studies, lectures, speeches, newspapers and other news media such as television and radio. Authoritative secondary sources were also implemented throughout this study.

1.5.4 Data recording

The recording of the collected historical data was done chronologically. Each historical exemplar and the data relevant thereto are presented in chronological order, as are the chapters.

The recording and discussion of the collected historical data are divided into four chapters, each of which deals with one historical exemplar. The study was developed, and the knowledge recorded in different chapters in the following sequence:

Chapter two focuses on the control, expansion and provision of formal school education during the era of the Union of South Africa (1910-1947). This chapter begins with an outline of the important issues linked to the establishment of formal school education prior to 1910. The control and provision of formal education and the role of the Union government in promoting, or neglecting to promote, effective learning and teaching, are then discussed.

Chapter three is a discussion of the role of the state in the provision of formal school education during the apartheid era. The chapter starts with an outline of the apartheid policies. These policies as well as Black resistance thereto are explained. The early educational reforms of the late 1980s are also recorded in this chapter.

In chapter four, formal school education during the transitional period is discussed. The steps taken by the National Party government and other political organisations for changing and improving the quality and standard of formal education in South Africa are outlined.

Chapter five looks at the state of formal education during the new democratic era. Problems and challenges related to the provision of formal education in the new South Africa are analysed.

The discussion in chapters two, three, four and five are aimed at revealing the factors that underlie effective learning and teaching as well as factors that benefit or erode a culture of learning and teaching. The role that the state has been playing in promoting, or neglecting to promote, a culture learning and teaching in the different historical eras, are also brought to light. This study is concluded in chapter six where the researcher summarises the above mentioned factors. Finally, in this chapter the researcher also provides his conclusions as well as recommendations/guidelines on how a learning and teaching culture can be restored, upheld and promoted in institutions of formal learning in South Africa.

1.6 DELIMITATION OF THE FIELD OF STUDY

Aspects of educational control and management, the particular task of the state in a contemporary society, are crucial factors that impact on the quality of learning and teaching that take place in the classroom. Furthermore, educational policies impact on the parental support given to learners and teachers. Thus, educational control and management, and all the related matters, as well as the popularity of state policies are the focus in this study, and are studied in the historical exemplars (see section 1.5.3). These exemplars have been chosen for the following reasons:

Firstly, formal school education in South Africa, as provided during the apartheid era and beyond, has its origin and establishment during the era prior to 1948 (see Behr 1984:5ff, 1988:9ff; Christie 1985:29ff; Claassen 1995:453-458; Hartshorne 1992:24ff; Vos & Brits 1990:52ff). This includes the colonial era and the era of the Union of South Africa government. No study pertaining to the provision of school education in South Africa, no matter what the context may be, could be complete if the origin and establishment of school education during the pre-apartheid era were not studied. This era needs to be researched in order to determine whether a culture of learning and teaching existed in schools or not, and why it did or did not exist.

Secondly, the present crisis in formal education at schools is, if not wholly at least partly, due to apartheid policies (see Claassen 1995:457; Meerkotter 1998:53; The National Education Conference 1992:1-2). Any attempt to understand the present crisis in education would, therefore, be fruitless if the environment that led to the situation was not analysed. Therefore, state educational policies and their effect formed an essential part of this study.

Thirdly, the new era of democracy in South Africa was preceded by an era of transformation. The educational changes during the transformation era have, therefore, a bearing on the present state of education and require research.

Lastly, the state of school education in South Africa since 1994 is researched. The area of this research covers a brief time span (10 years), but so many radical changes have been introduced by the state during this time that require intensive coverage.

1.7 CONCLUSION

Quality education is essential for the continued welfare of contemporary societies. This research attempts to identify the factors pertaining to control that underlie effective learning and teaching, and to thereby determine the role that the state plays in promoting or limiting a learning and teaching culture. Hopefully this study will stimulate further research and debate on issues pertaining to the role of the state in promoting or limiting a learning and teaching culture in South African schools.

CHAPTER 2

THE STATE'S ROLE IN THE EDUCATION OF WHITES AND BLACKS DURING THE PERIOD OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (1910- 1947)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In 1910, the Union of South Africa Act, Act 9 of 1909, brought the four South African colonies, Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State, together to form the Union of South Africa. The four colonies became provinces under one central government, namely the Parliament of the Union of South Africa. The main aim of the Union was to free the colonies from direct British or Commonwealth control, and to promote South African autonomy, that is, to become a sovereign and independent country (Behr 1984:4, 1988:12; Oliver & Atmore 1996:178, 180).

At the time of the formation of the Union, each of the four provinces had an established system of state-provided and church-provided primary and secondary education as well as a system of teacher training (see Behr 1984:20; Christie

1985:49ff; Claassen 1995:456; Webber 1992:21). However, the actual provision of formal school education, especially to farm and rural children, was often ineffective (Behr 1984:10; Hartshorne 1992:24). Therefore, the Union government took upon itself the task of expanding and improving formal education. The tasks with regard to schooling that the state took upon itself and whether the state's execution of such tasks contributed to the promotion or limitation of a culture of learning and teaching will be discussed in this chapter.

2.2 THE STATE'S ROLE IN LEARNING AND TEACHING DURING THE PERIOD OF THE UNION (1910-1947)

Soon after its formation, the Union government gave attention to the following aspects of formal education:

- * the division of educational control;
- * the expansion of primary and secondary education;
- * the provision of adequately qualified teachers;
- * in-service training of teachers;
- * supervision and inspection;
- * compulsory education; and
- * the medium of instruction.

In this era, there were already separate education systems for White pupils and Black pupils, and Blacks were not allowed admission in White state schools (see Behr 1984:1776; Christie 1985:50-51; Claassen 1995:456; Hartshorne 1992:25; Rangaka 1985:21; Vos & Brits 1990:105-106).

2.2.1 The division of educational control

Before the formation of the Union, state control of primary, secondary and tertiary education for Whites was in the hands of the respective provinces. The provincial governments had been responsible for the funding and the overall administration and management of education (Behr 1984:5ff). Black education was not under state control, but funded and managed by missionaries (Christie 1985:49ff; Claassen 1995:456).

2.2.1.1 State control of White education - division between provinces and central government

After the Union was formed, the four provincial authorities, via provincial councils, controlled primary and secondary schools (Behr 1984:20, 1988:59; Christie 1985:50; Claassen 1995:456; Hartshorne 1992:25; Vos & Brits 1990:54). The control of higher education, education for children with special needs and nursery school education

were placed under the control of a central Ministry of Education, called the Union Department of Education (Behr 1984:20-21; Hartshorne 1992:25; Vos & Brits 1990:54). This division of control encountered the following problems.

First, there was no clear “line of demarcation which would result in a clear definition of functions of the provincial education departments and those of the department of the Central Government” (Behr 1988:60). Secondary education was, in fact, also offered in certain schools which were controlled by the Union Department of Education, for example, technical colleges, commercial high schools and housecraft high schools (Behr 1984:21, 1988:60; Malherbe 1977:202; Rose & Tunmer 1975:10).

The Union Department of Education and the provincial councils were also at loggerheads as to who should control teacher training. The former maintained that teacher training was post-school education and, therefore, a national function and part of its responsibilities. The provincial councils, on the other hand, held the view that since the provincial authorities had control over primary and secondary education, they should also control the training and certification of teachers (Mncwabe 1992:50-51). Since both parties refused to relinquish their share in teacher training, it was finally agreed that the provincial education departments, the universities and the Union Department of Education should all independently undertake the task of training teachers (Behr 1988:60).

Despite the fact that there was no clear demarcation of functions, as mentioned above, a high academic standard, thus, a culture of learning and teaching, was maintained in White schools during the era of the Union (see Behr 1984:178, Christie 1985:40, 48ff; Hartshorne 1992:27ff; Malherbe 1977:155-156, 255; section 2.2.2.1(c)). The overlap in functions was an administrative issue that affected the high standard of learning and teaching which was upheld in White education (Malherbe 1977:7, 32; see section 2.2.2.1(c)).

Second, there was little coordination between the policies of the four provincial authorities among themselves nor with those of the Union government (Behr 1984:21; Vos & Brits 1992:107). However, this lack of coordination did not affect the high academic standard upheld in White schools (see Behr 1984:178, Christie 1985:40, 48ff; Hartshorne 1992:27ff; Malherbe 1977:155-156, 255).

The two problems mentioned above led to the appointment of several commissions of inquiry. The first commission was the Jagger Provincial Administration Commission of 1916. This commission recommended that provincial education should be controlled by district councils, and these councils were to be entrusted with all aspects of educational management and administration and were to be headed by a Chief Inspector who was appointed by the central government and who would be

responsible to central government (Behr 1988:22; Rose & Tunmer 1975:11ff). Behr (1988:22) and Rose and Tunmer (1975:17) point out that this recommendation was never implemented, and no reasons for this were given.

In 1924, a second commission, the Education Administration Commission, headed by JH Hofmeyr, was appointed. The Hofmeyr Commission recommended that a Union Board of Education should be set up, first, to monitor the four provincial education departments, and, second, to coordinate provincial policies with the Union Department of Education, and, third, to ensure efficient implementation by the provinces of the central Ministry's educational policies (Rose & Tunmer 1975:22-23).

The Hofmeyr commission's recommendations were also not implemented by the government and reasons for not implementing the recommendations were also not given (Behr 1988:22; Rose & Tunmer 1975:23ff).

More than a decade later, the Transvaal and Natal provincial councils, in a separate attempt to improve the control of education, appointed their own commissions. The Nicol Commission and the Wilks Commission were appointed in the Transvaal, in 1939 and Natal, in 1946 respectively, to assess the education systems of their provinces and to make appropriate recommendations thereafter which would bring it into line with the then most modern developments in educational practice and make it an education system that would meet the expectations and requirements of parents,

universities and the job market (Behr 1988:23; Rose & Tunmer 1975:47-48).

The commissions were dissatisfied with the following in both Transvaal and Natal education:

- * The primary school curriculum. They maintained that there were too many subjects.
 - * The primary school duration. They maintained that eight years was too long.
 - * The secondary school curriculum. They maintained that it was too academic.
 - * The small number of pupils who completed matriculation. They pointed out that this was possibly due to the overly academic nature of the curriculum.
- (Behr 1988:23; Rose & Tunmer 1975:48ff.)

Both commissions recommended the following:

- * The primary school course should be seven, instead of eight, years' duration, ending at standard five instead of standard six.
- * Compulsory attendance for White pupils should be from seven years up to the age of sixteen, instead of seven to fourteen years.
- * Two separate and parallel types of secondary education should be established: an academic stream for those pupils who intended to enrol for university education and another trade related stream for those pupils who

intended to enter into trade after obtaining the standard six, eight or ten certificate (see Behr 1988:22-23; Claassen 1995:456; Rose & Tunmer 1975:48ff).

The commissions' first recommendation mentioned above was not implemented. No reasons for not implementing this recommendation were given (Behr 1988:23-24). The second and third recommendations were, however, implemented, and not only in Transvaal and Natal, but in all four provinces (see sections 2.2.2.1 and 2.2.6). This had a positive effect on White education: as a result of compulsory education, the number of White children attending state schools, though low (about 5,71 percent) (see section 2.2.2.1 (a)), increased while the separation of streams ensured that all learners were offered a high standard education that was also oriented towards their future careers (see Behr 1984:178, Christie 1985:40, 48ff; Hartshorne 1992:27ff; Malherbe 1977:155-156, 255). The implementation of the two recommendations, thus, contributed to entrenching the already existing culture of learning and teaching in White state schools during the Union era.

2.2.1.2 Black education - from mission to state control

After the formation of the Union, a separate department, the Department of Native Affairs, was established to control formal education of Blacks in all four provinces

(Behr 1984:176; Christie 1985:50; Hartshorne 1992:25). The Department of Native Affairs was responsible for the administration and management of Black government schools, that is, for the establishment of schools, funding of schools, teacher training and inspection of Black education (Christie 1985:50-51; Rangaka 1985:21; Vos & Brits 1990:105-106). The government schools existed alongside the mission schools that provided education for Black children.

The Hofmeyer Commission (see section 2.2.1.1) also looked into Black education and recommended that the control, administration and financing of Black education should fall directly under the Union Department of Education, that the funding be increased and the inspection of Black education in the four provinces, including the missionary schools, be improved (see Behr 1988:22-23; Claassen 1995:456; Hartshorne 1992:28-29). These recommendations were, however, not implemented by the government and no reasons were given.

Black education was actually given little governmental attention till, in 1935, when the Union government reviewed the control and overall state of Black education. An interdepartmental committee on Native education was appointed. It was known as the Welsh Committee and consisted of the four provincial Chief Inspectors of Native Education and the Director of the National Bureau for Education and Social Research.

The Welsh Committee sought answers to the following questions:

- * Should central government take over the control and administration of Black education from the provinces?
- * What should the relationship between the state and the missionary bodies be?
- * What should the aims and purposes of Black education be? (Hartshorne 1992:27).

The Welsh Committee found the following:

First, compared to White education, Black education was underfunded. The per capita expenditure on a Black child was R 3,12 compared to per capita expenditure of R 30,80 for a White child (Hartshorne 1992:27; Malherbe 1977:155-156).

Second, Black schools lacked basic facilities such as textbooks and there were insufficient classrooms. Over 70 per cent of Black children of school going age were not at school as they could not be accommodated (Christie 1985:48ff). Teachers were subjected to a double-session teaching system in the lower grades, where one group of pupils attended school in the morning and another group in the afternoon (Malherbe 1977:255). The schools were also over-crowded, with most pupils “sitting on the floor of a badly lighted and badly ventilated wood and iron room There was scarcely

room for a blackboard, or a teacher's table - let alone other educational equipment such as maps" (Behr 1984:178).

Third, most teachers were unqualified (Christie 1985:40; Hartshorne 1992:27ff; Malherbe 1977:255).

Fourth, compared to White education, the standard and quality of Black education were very low. In the "purely scholastic subjects, like the three R's, the average level of Bantu pupils in Standard VI was equal to that of the average White pupil in Standard IV" (Malherbe 1977:195). The poor standard in Black state schools was the understandable, and inevitable, result of underfunding, overcrowding and unqualified teachers.

In its report, presented in 1936, the Welsh Committee made a number of recommendations, which included the following:

- * The control, administration and financing of Black education should fall under the Union Department of Education, that also controlled aspects of White education (see section 2.2.1.1).

- * The per capita grant should be raised from R3,12 to R7,20, and should come from the revenue of the state.

- * Mission schools should continue to be subsidised, but alongside them more Black state schools should be established.
- * Teacher training and teachers' conditions of service and salaries should be improved.
- * The curriculum should be revised to link the experiences of Black pupils in the classroom with their life-experiences within the Black communities. *

Consideration should be given to the issue of language and medium of instruction. (See Behr 1984:178; Christie 1985:54; Hartshorne 1992:28-29.)

At the end of 1936, a joint meeting from representatives of the four provincial Advisory Boards on Native Education endorsed the Welsh Committee's recommendations, especially with regard to the recommendation that the control, administration and financing of Black education should fall under the Union Department of Education. This was, however, not implemented despite further deputations to government from the joint advisory boards and the Christian Council of South Africa (Hartshorne 1992:30). The other recommendations were implemented. The per capita annual subsidy for Black pupils was raised from R3,12 to R5,05.

The implementation of the recommendations relating to the increase in missionary subsidies, establishment of more government schools and improvement of Black

teacher training are discussed in section 2.2.2.2. In the next section, the Union government's policies for primary and secondary education in both White and Black education systems shall be scrutinised.

2.2.2 Primary and secondary education

In each of the four provinces the pre-Union governments of the four provinces had established state and mission systems of primary and secondary education for both White and Black population groups (see Behr 1984:5ff; Christie 1985:32ff, 1991:33ff; Claassen 1995:455ff; Hartshorne 1992:24ff; section 2.1). However, “sound elementary instruction [was not provided] to all classes of the people” (Behr 1988:20), especially in farm and rural areas. In these areas, there was a serious shortage of schools and/or classrooms as well as qualified teachers (see Christie 1985:36-38, 1991:36-38; Claassen 1995:456; Hartshorne 1992:24).

To improve education, the Union government addressed school infrastructure, the curriculum and the standard of education in both White and Black education. These, and the role played by parents, are discussed in the following sections. White education will be scrutinised first and then the same issues will be scrutinised in Black education.

2.2.2.1 White education

(a) School infrastructure

The Union government established a number of new state schools, throughout the country, especially in farm and rural areas. Additional classrooms were also built, where needed, in existing state schools. The increase in the number of schools and/or classrooms gave more White pupils access to formal state-provided education (Behr 1988:23; Hartshorne 1992:23-25; Malherbe 1977:707) and the number of White children attending state schools, though low, increased from 13,12 percent in 1910 to 18,83 percent in 1947 (Malherbe 1977:707).

The very low percentage increase in White children attending state schools (despite compulsory education policy (see section 2.2.1.1) and improved infrastructure) indicates that state schools were not popular among the White community, and this leads one to ponder on the following questions: Where did the other White children go? Why was the White population not interested in utilising state education? The possibly answer to these questions is that White parents sent their children to private

schools as a result of the language issue (*taalstryd*). The language issue in White education is discussed in section 2.2.5.1.

(b) The curriculum

At the time of the Union, the state school curriculum was academic and focused on “university entrance and did not take into account the needs of the majority of pupils who on leaving school [after standard six, eight or ten] wanted to enter commerce or trade” (Behr 1984:28). The core primary school subjects were languages (Dutch/Afrikaans and English), arithmetic, writing, health education, religious education, social studies and general sciences. For secondary school the core subjects were languages (Dutch/Afrikaans and English), arithmetic, religious education, geography, history and biology (Behr 1984:12).

The Union government made the following changes to the state curriculum:

- * Agriculture and farm management were added to the compulsory core academic curriculum (see above) in farm and rural schools (Behr 1988:23; Malherbe 1977:158ff).
- * Subjects of a less academic and more practical nature - technical drawing, commerce, housecraft, woodwork, arts and crafts and agriculture - were introduced as optional subjects in some primary and secondary schools in

urban areas. The curriculum in those schools still consisted of the compulsory core academic subjects (mentioned above), but a choice of up to three practical subjects was also given (Behr 1984:29).

The Union government's changes to the curriculum were an attempt to cater for pupils who intended pursuing a trade after obtaining a Junior and/or Matriculation Certificate and not only for those who intended to go on to university. It can be accepted that the standard of White education was high in both pure academic and the more career oriented subjects because, as Malherbe (1977:158ff) points out, pupils were well-prepared either for pursuing a trade after leaving school or for higher education. High standards prevailed in White state-provided education for two reasons: First, the Union government employed only well qualified teachers and had, furthermore, an effective system of inspection. Second, White parents were involved in their children's education. Nevertheless, as mentioned in section 2.2.2.1(a), state schools were not popular possibly due to the language issue (see section 2.2.5.1)

(c) Academic standard of White education

Already during the pre-Union era, White state schools had well qualified teachers and inspectors often from foreign countries, such as England, Holland, France, Norway, Sweden and America (Behr 1988:153, 157; Christie 1985:41, 65; Malherbe

1977:422ff), who, like the White parents, insisted on high academic standards (Malherbe 1977:7, 32). The Union government upheld these high academic standards in White schools. Only qualified teachers and inspectors were appointed and there was, moreover, adequate government funding and good facilities in White schools (Behr 1984:178; Christie 1985:40, 48ff; Hartshorne 1992:27ff; Malherbe 1977:155-156, 195, 255).

The high academic standards in White state schools ensured the following:

- * that pupils could meet the high academic demands that were made in the Senior Certificate;
 - * that most pupils who intended to enrol for university education were adequately prepared and got the necessary creditation for admission; and
 - * that those pupils who pursued a trade after obtaining a Junior and/or Matriculation Certificate were adequately prepared for their apprenticeships.
- (See Christie 1985:68; Hartshorne 1992:61; Malherbe 1977:7, 32, 156, 423-424, 429.)

The high standards that were maintained in White state schools can also be ascribed to the involvement of White parents in their children's education.

(d) Parental involvement

The Union government controlled education but it did encourage parental involvement in school governance through school committees (Behr 1984:26; Christie 1985:51). White parents tended to be actively engaged in their children's formal education and they made sure that their children attended school (Claassen 1995:484). There was, however, one issue, namely, the language issue, a hotly contested political issue, that caused dissatisfaction among White parents with state education policies. This issue, which could possibly have caused the low percentage of children who attended state schools, is discussed in section 2.2.5.1. The fact that White parents insisted on hard work from their children despite the language struggle ensured that high standards were upheld.

In the next section, the manner in which the Union government addressed the above issues in primary and secondary Black education will be discussed.

2.2.2.2 Black education

(a) School infrastructure

Prior to 1910, Black education had been solely in the hands of missionaries. The Union government established a state-controlled Black education system. State-controlled primary and secondary schools for Blacks were built throughout the country which enabled more Black children to receive formal education. School enrolments in state schools increased steadily from 1910 (Hartshorne 1992:23-25). Furthermore, in the late 1930s and 1940s, following the Welsh Committee Report (see section 2.2.1.2), additional secondary schools for day scholars in Black townships were established by the government. These included Langa (Cape Town), Newell (Port Elizabeth), WT Welsh (East London) and several schools at Heilbron, Kroonstad and Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State and Orlando, Pimville and Western Native Township in the Transvaal (see Hartshorne 1992:62).

Although the Union government took over the control of Black education, too few schools were built. As a result, many Black children could not attend school simply because there were no schools in their specific areas (Christie 1985:71-72; Claassen 1995:456).

Governmental subsidy to missionary schools also increased and, to increase state control, missionary schools had to register with the government in order to receive the subsidy (Christie 1985:71-72; Hartshorne 1992:25). The increased subsidy enabled the missionary schools to improve their infrastructure and, thereby, increase their pupil

intake.

(b) The curriculum

The curriculum for Black schools in the Transvaal, Cape and Orange Free State was the same as for White schools (see section 2.2.2.1 (c)), except that in primary schools, a Black vernacular language was used instead of Dutch/Afrikaans or English (see section 2.2.5). However, the Natal provincial department held the unfortunate and false view that Blacks were destined for manual work, thus, schools should do no more than equip them for such work (Christie 1985:42). They believed that “[t]o teach them to read and write, without teaching them to work [was] not doing them any good” (Rose and Tuner 1975:213). Thus, in Natal, the provincial department introduced a special curriculum for Black primary schools, which “made provision, in the first place, for the combination of manual training with elementary instruction, and in the second, for the shaping of that elementary instruction so as to equip the Native for more intelligent comprehension of any industrial work that is set before him” (Hartshorne 1992:26). Thus, in Natal, the provincial authorities abused their power and arbitrarily excluded Blacks from the possibility of attending university. However, mission schools, such as Adams College, Inanda and St Hilda’s, in Natal maintained a high level of education for Blacks that prepared them for tertiary education.

(c) Academic standard of Black education

Prior to 1910, Black education at mission schools varied greatly in the academic standard of education. Some schools only offered basic reading and writing, while others offered quality primary and secondary education with a wide range of subjects (Behr 1988:173-174; Christie 1985:67-68). The former schools were characterised by a lack of funds, poor facilities (classrooms and teaching and learning resources), poorly trained and unqualified teachers (Behr 1988:173-174; Christie 1985:68).

After 1910, most mission schools registered with the state in order to receive the governmental grant. The Union government, thus, took over the control of registered missionary schools (together with the government schools), and laid down the syllabi, paid the teachers and appointed qualified inspectors (Behr 1984:176; Christie 1985:71-72; Hartshorne 1992:25). The state take-over of Black education led to an improvement in literacy among Blacks (Malherbe 1977:195). The standard of education in Black secondary schools, especially in urban areas, also improved considerably (Hartshorne 1992:62).

The high standard of Black education during the period of the Union is ascribable to the following:

First, Black secondary schools (except in Natal - see section 2.2.2.2 (b)) used exactly the same high standard curriculum, syllabi, textbooks and examinations as those used in White schools (Hartshorne 1992:62-630). This meant that Blacks did receive quality education and they did not perceive their education as inferior, as was the case during the apartheid era (see sections 3.2 and 3.3).

Second, the state-appointed teachers were hard working and upheld a high academic standard (Behr 1988:92; Hartshorne 1992:62-63).

Third, good relationships prevailed between the Black learners and their teachers. The average learner was cooperative and hard working (Hartshorne 1992:62-63) and thus successful in school and in later life. Many prominent African leaders, among them Zeke Mphahlele, Zeph Mothopeng, Robert Sobukwe and Oliver Thambo, were learners and later teachers in state schools of this period (Hartshorne 1992:63).

(d) Parental involvement

Unlike White parents, very few Black parents valued formal education (Claassen 1995:484) probably because formal schooling was alien to traditional Black culture. The few parents who valued formal education and supported their children, were usually in the township areas and had thus been influenced by Western culture

(Hartshorne 1992:63ff). Rural Blacks still cherished traditional ideas and, therefore, rural Black children of school going-age did not even attend school. Of those who enrolled, many dropped out before finishing primary school, and this, at least partially, can be attributed to the lack of motivation and support from their parents (Christie 1985:49; 53ff).

Another important area in formal schooling, which is accepted as the function of the state, is teacher training, and this is discussed next.

2.2.3 Teacher training and in-service teacher education

2.2.3.1 Teacher training

At the time of the Union, each of the four provinces had established primary and secondary teacher training institutions. There were, however, too few such institutions and the physical facilities were poor. There was also a shortage of resources, such as textbooks and teaching aids (Behr 1988:157). Foreign teachers from European countries, namely England, Holland, Norway, France and Scotland were imported (Christie 1985:32ff, 41, 65), and they were excellent (see section 2.2.2.1(c)). However, not enough foreign teachers could be recruited to meet the requirements of the growing number of school-going children (Behr 1988:153, 157-160).

The Union government realised that “the training of teachers lies at the root of all [the] best growth in education” (Behr 1988:157), and it, therefore, established new teacher training colleges and improved the existing colleges (Hartshorne 1992:223). Teacher training was also offered at universities in the form of post-graduate diplomas and degrees in education as well as courses in the initial professional preparation of primary and secondary school teachers (Behr 1988:165; Claassen 1995:481-482; Vos & Brits 1990:105ff). Teacher training courses were also offered at colleges for advanced technical education. (Later, in the 1980s, these were renamed technikons). Here students were prepared for a National Teachers’ Diploma in the fields of art, commerce, home economics, technology and workshop practice (Behr 1988:167).

During the time of the Union, separate teacher training programmes for Whites and Blacks were implemented. The respective White and Black teacher training is briefly explained in the following sections.

(a) The training of White teachers

Training colleges for Whites offered both Lower and Higher Primary Teachers’ Certificates, and some also offered a Senior Secondary Teachers’ Certificate. The admission requirement for certificates in primary school teaching was standard eight

and for secondary school teaching was standard ten (Behr 1988:160ff; Hartshorne 1992:223ff). The preparatory courses which universities offered included a Higher Primary Teachers' Diploma and a postgraduate Secondary Teachers' Diploma (Behr 1988:165; Claassen 1995:481; Vos & Brits 1990:105-106). Natal University concerned itself only with the preparation of teachers for secondary schools. The admission requirement for secondary teacher training courses at the universities was standard ten with matriculation exemption.

To encourage the enrolment of more teacher-students, the Transvaal provincial education department offered loans and bursaries which were repayable in service equivalent to the number of years spent in college. Behr (1988:161) says that this resulted in "an increase in student numbers to such an extent that by 1932, the teacher supply [in the Transvaal] exceeded the demand". However, during the 1940s, the demand for teachers once again exceeded the supply due to a growing number of school-going children (Behr 1988:161).

The teacher training colleges as well as the universities maintained a high standard of teacher training. These well-trained teachers inevitably promoted a culture of learning and teaching in White schools (see Heese 1992:7-8; Human Sciences Research Council 1981:59; see section 2.2.2.1 (c)).

(b) The training of Black teachers

Prior to the Union, teacher training for Blacks in South Africa had been provided by the missionary churches (Christie 1991:42ff; Hartshorne 1992:219ff). After 1910, the Union government also concerned itself with Black teacher training. The first institution, the South African Native College (later the University of Fort Hare), was established in 1916 in the Cape (Behr 1988:168, 185; Vos & Brits 1990:67). After 1916, other government institutions for training Black teachers were established in all four provinces (see Christie 1991:42ff; Hartshorne 1992:221, 224-229).

The state's teacher training institutions were, however, from the onset too few to meet the growing demand for Black teachers (Christie 1985:54; Hartshorne 1992:225; Vos & Brits 1990:105). The mission institutions, too, could not assist in meeting the demand for Black teachers since they did not have sufficient funds to expand their teacher training facilities (Christie 1985:54; Hartshorne 1992:230-231). The sad upshot was that more than 30 percent of Black teachers in the schools of the 1930s were employed without having any teaching qualifications (Behr 1988:30).

Governmental and missionary teacher training institutions offered two certificates in primary school teaching, namely a Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate (LPTC) and a Higher Primary Teachers' Certificate (HPTC). The LPTC course was a three year

course with standard six as the minimum entrance requirement. The HPTC course was a two year course and the minimum entrance requirement was standard eight (Behr 1984:177, 1988:168-169; Hartshorne 1992:226-227; Vos & Brits 1990:105-106).

Training in secondary school teaching was only offered at the South African Native College. There were two courses, namely, the Secondary Teachers' Diploma and the University Education Diploma. Both these courses were two year courses, with standard ten as the admission requirement. At the end of each course, there was an external written examination, oral English tests and assessment of practical teaching ability (Hartshorne 1992:226).

Between 1936 and 1947, following the Welsh Report (see section 2.2.1.2), the Union government established more government colleges for training Black teachers throughout the country. These included the Departmental Occupational Training Centre (1945, in the Transvaal), set up to train Black teachers in art, woodwork and domestic science, and the Mokopane Training College (1948, in the Transvaal), intended to be the first of the so-called 'community' colleges staffed entirely by Black teachers (Hartshorne 1992:228-229; Rangaka 1995:21). However, these Black colleges, like the already established colleges, had "poor conditions and limited facilities [physical facilities as well as equipment] caused by inadequate funding"

(Hartshorne 1992:230-231).

Despite the above mentioned limitations, the standard of education in these newly established colleges was better than that in most missionary institutions (Hartshorne 1992:231; Rangaka 1985:21). This was because qualified lecturers, who were also dedicated, were appointed in these colleges. Also, the student teachers had a mature attitude. They were disciplined, worked very hard and respected and cooperated with the lecturers (Rangaka 1985:21). Consequently, the training that the student teachers received “was of a good standard, not only because of the qualifications and the experience of the staff, but even more because of their commitment and dedication to what they were doing” (Hartshorne 1992:230-231). These students became teachers with an essential concern for the education of the whole human which was the mark of the best in the liberal, Christian tradition. They were dedicated, able teachers who maintained a high level of professionalism in the classroom (Hartshorne 1992:231).

The period of the Union was marked, on the one hand, by a “continuing growth in the number of [Black] teacher training institutions and the number of students trained” (Hartshorne 1992:223), and, on the other hand, by an increase in the state’s role in teacher training, that is, by “the formalizing of courses, examinations and certification and increased State subsidy and intervention ...” (Hartshorne 1992:223). Teacher training institutions for Blacks increased from 25, with an enrolment of less than 3 500

in 1910, to 38 with a total enrolment of more than 6 000 in 1948. Thus, state intervention in the field of teacher training during the time of the Union had a positive impact on education. There was a marked improvement in both the number and the quality of Black teachers. These excellent teachers inevitably promoted a culture of learning and teaching in public schools (see Heese 1992:7-8; Human Sciences Research Council 1981:59; Mncwambe 1990:51). As Hartshorne (1992:218) points out: “Increased funding, better physical facilities, new curricula, improved syllabi and learning material, democratic structures, effective planning and administration ... all have their part to play, but in the end, success or failure depends upon the teacher in the classroom” (Hartshorne 1992:218).

Despite the increase in the training and supply of teachers, the number of Black school going children continued to exceed the supply of qualified teachers during this era (Christie 1985:54; Hartshorne 1992:225ff; Vos & Brits 1990:105). As mentioned in an earlier paragraph in this section, more than 30 percent of Black teachers in the 1930s had no, or little, teacher training. Improvement of the teaching competence of these teachers was of utmost necessity, and the state undertook this task.

2.2.3.2 In-service teacher education - White and Black education

The Union government introduced in-service training of both Black and White

teachers. Regular vacation courses and winter schools for qualified teachers were held at selected teacher training centres throughout the country (Milner in Hartshorne, 1992:259). Courses for unqualified as well as underqualified teachers were also organised regularly. During these in-service teacher courses, “ ... new ideas, some practical methods and techniques for the classroom, were passed on.” (Hartshorne 1992:259). Consequently, the quality of teaching of the participating teachers improved (Vos & Brits 1990:105).

Learning also improved. Greenland (Hartshorne 1992:258) points out that in-service teacher training is a “crucial variable in the process of improving the quality of children’s learning in the classroom”. Hartshorne (1992:258) also says that it is a “critical factor in achieving fundamental change in the quality of education in the classroom and in the school as a whole, and indeed in any situation in which education takes place”. Thus, in-service teacher training is important. It allows teachers to extend and develop their professional competence.

Another factor that has bearing on effective schooling is inspection of schools (Behr 1984:176; Christie 1985:72; Hartshorne 1992:24).

2.2.4 Inspection and supervision of schools

2.2.4.1 White education

Already during the pre-Union period, well qualified inspectors had been appointed to inspect and supervise White education in the Cape, Natal and in the Boer Republics (see Behr 1984:8ff; Christie 1985:40ff). This contributed to the high standard and quality of education in White schools (see section 2.2.2.1 (c)). During the period of the Union qualified inspectors of education were appointed in all four provinces. The inspectors were responsible for the evaluation of classroom teaching and advising teachers with regard to teaching methods and general classroom efficiency. They guided teachers and principals in the management of schools and classrooms and in classroom teaching (Christie 1985:47; Hartshorne 1992:257-258) and they organised and conducted in-service training programmes (see section 2.2.3.2). They were also responsible for the upgrading of school curricula and the drawing-up and distribution of official syllabi, and they made recommendations to provincial governments on where more state schools should be established (see Behr 1984:176; Christie 1985:47; Hartshorne 1992:256ff).

2.2.4.2 Black education

Before the Union, missionary schools, which had then provided almost all Black schooling, were supervised and inspected by missionaries (Christie 1985:72). These missionaries “had limited knowledge and experience of educational matters, in

addition to being burdened with a host of other [church] responsibilities” (Hartshorne 1992:24). This contributed to low academic standards in some missionary schools (Christie 1985:67-68; Hartshorne 1992:24).

When the Union government took control of Black education, it appointed appropriately qualified inspectors. In some circuits, especially in townships, the inspectors in White education also inspected and supervised Black education (Behr 1984:176-177; Hartshorne 1992:25, 259ff). State controlled inspection brought significant improvement in the academic standard of Black education (Behr 1984:176; see section 2.2.2.2 (c)).

South Africa is a multilingual society, and the medium of instruction was from the onset a contentious issue (Lemmer 1993:146; Malherbe 1977:39, 130; Visser 1998:367). In the next section, the state’s policies and prescriptions with regard to the medium of instruction in White and Black education are discussed.

2.2.5 The medium of instruction

2.2.5.1 White education

Before the formation of the Union, English was the medium of instruction in state and

missionary schools (Behr 1988:99-100; Claassen 1995:458; Hartshorne 1992:188ff). English was decreed as the medium of instruction in White schools in 1902 by Milner, the then British High Commissioner in South Africa, after the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging, in 1902 (see Hallet 1974:634; Rose & Tunmer 1975:9). The use of English as a medium of instruction in state and mission schools was a political tool - via anglicisation of the population, the political and economic domination of the British government was to be maintained (Behr 1984:7; Christie 1985:34; Hallet 1974:634; Hartshorne 1992:190; Kruger 1981:343; Malherbe 1977:3; Rose & Tunmer 1975:9). This aim of Milner was expressed in his meetings with the British officials as well as in his letters and papers written to the military and education administrators during 1900 to 1902 (see Hallet 1974:631; Rose & Tunmer 1975:161ff). He wanted to “denationalize” the Afrikaners, and

bring them in closer touch with immigrants from Britain, transform their society by introducing an efficient, modern system of education, educate them in the English manner and in the English language (Hallet 1974:634-635).

The government’s imposition of English as a medium of instruction in White state schools sparked bitter anger and resentment from Afrikaner parents (Hallet 1974:634ff; Kruger 1981:348; Rose & Tunmer 1975). By way of protest, prominent

Afrikaner leaders, such as James Hertzog, MT Steyn, Abraham Fischer and Louis Botha and leading ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, established a private education system, called Christian National Education (CNE), “in opposition to the [anglicized] government schools for Afrikaans children” (Malherbe 1977:3-4). In the CNE schools Dutch (later Afrikaans) was used as the medium of instruction.

In 1905, when Milner had gone back to England, his successor, Lord Selborne, sought conciliation between the English speakers and Afrikaners. He, thus, relaxed Milner’s rigid language policy and issued a government notice which stipulated that :

Teachers shall be allowed to use either English or the Dutch language as the medium of instruction as long as they make themselves understood to the children, provided that English shall be used as the medium as soon as the children are able to follow the teacher’s instruction in that language (Malherbe 1977:5).

Although the notice still stressed the use of English, it was accepted by some of the Afrikaner leaders (see Malherbe 1977:6ff; Rose & Tunmer 1975:164ff).

After 1910, the Union government decreed both English and Dutch as official mediums of instruction in White government and mission schools (Malherbe 1977:5,

8; Sachs 1994:114). Article 137 of the 1910 Union Constitution stated that: *Both the English and Dutch languages shall be official languages of the Union and shall be treated on a footing of equality and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights and privileges* (Behr 1984:22). This article was enacted in the Language Ordinance, no. 11 of 1912, which stipulated the following:

- * Children in primary school, up to and including standard four [now grade six] should receive instruction in and through the home language, that is, English or Dutch. The second language, namely Dutch or English, should gradually be introduced as a separate subject.
- * Parents should have the right to choose the language, English or Dutch, to become the medium of instruction beyond standard four; with a possibility of using both official languages. (See Behr 1984:22; Malherbe 1977:9-10).

Though the Language Ordinance no. 11 of 1912 was conciliatory and allowed three years for its gradual in-phasing, the Afrikaners were discontented by the use of Dutch. Dutch was no longer the home language of Afrikaners. In effect, it was a foreign language to Afrikaans-speaking children (Malherbe 1977:12-13). Afrikaners parents wanted, not Dutch, but Afrikaans as the medium of instruction (Malherbe 1977:11; Rose & Tunmer 1975:176ff). They wanted compulsory mother-tongue instruction, that is, Afrikaans, for their children throughout a pupil's school life, and single-medium

schools (Chick 1992:275). The Afrikaners wanted their children “to learn through [the Afrikaans] language in which they were competent” (Chick 1992:275). The Union government, on the other hand, insisted on the use of Dutch despite it being “very difficult” to learn and speak and not the Afrikaner children’s home language (Malherbe 1977:13). Clearly, in this, the so-called *taalstryd*, “educational motives were secondary to the political ones” (Chick 1992:275). Thus, the Union government’s anglicisation policy was ideological in thrust, and not educational.

Furthermore, English was sometimes the sole medium of instruction: “English [was] still being used freely in many schools ... in classes consisting mainly or partially of [Afrikaans]-speaking pupils” as a result of lack of bilingual teachers (Rose & Tunmer 1975:173). Malherbe (1977:32) points out that “[p]arental choice as to the introduction of the second language [mainly, Dutch] as a medium at the secondary level was considerably curtailed in practice by school organization ...”. The Department was, thus, perceived by Afrikaners to be making little effort to secure bilingual teachers as well as ensuring the recognition and respect of even the Dutch language in line with Ordinance no. 11 of 1912.

The annual reports of the Departments of Education in all provinces indicated a disappointing standard of proficiency in Dutch in schools in unilingual English environments where the pupils did not hear Dutch outside the one-hour-a-day lesson

in the classroom (Malherbe 1977:32).

The protection of their language was very important to Afrikaners. They opposed the government's anglicisation policy by opting out of the state system and establishing Afrikaans (that is, CNE) private schools. High academic standards were maintained in the CNE schools (see Malherbe 1977:4-5; section 2.2.2.1(c)). Malherbe (1977:4-5) points out that "[s]ome of these schools did excellent work and compared favourably with the government schools". Consequently, White state schools became unpopular with Afrikaner parents, and only about 18,8 percent of the White population used state schools and 81,2 percent sent their children to private schools (see sections 2.2.1.1 and 2.2.2.1).

The Afrikaners continued to fight for the recognition of Afrikaans throughout the civil service (see Malherbe 1977:11; Rose & Tunmer 1975:164ff). The Afrikaner leaders "stood for the primacy of the Afrikaans language in South Africa and for the abandonment of any deference to British [anglicization] policy ..." (Oliver & Atmore 1994:182).

The Afrikaner boycott of the state system of education and their relentless struggle for the recognition of Afrikaans did force the state into concessions. In May 1925, the use of Afrikaans as an official language in the civil service as well as in the classroom was

ratified by Parliament. In 1944, there was a lengthy “passionate debate” about mother-tongue instruction and single-medium schools in Parliament (Malherbe 1977:82). The then Prime Minister, General Jan Smuts, made, however, only the following amendments to the Language Ordination no 11 of 1912:

- * That the child should be instructed through his home language in the early stages of its educational career;
- * That the second language should be introduced gradually as a supplementary medium of instruction from the stage at which it is on educational grounds appropriate to do so (see Malherbe 1977:82-83).

This was, in effect, an introduction of a dual medium system of instruction, and was done to meet the ideals of bilingualism and of national unity via the school system.

The amendments applied till 1948 when the National Party came to power. They took the following forms (Malherbe (1977:93-94):

- * English and Afrikaans were used alternatively in the same lesson.
- * All subjects were taught on alternative days in English and Afrikaans.
- * Some subjects were taught only through English - and others only through Afrikaans-medium. This applied especially at the secondary level where there

was specialization.

- * The second language was used for several subjects but not more than one hour per day in all classes beyond standard two.

The language struggle and resentment of Afrikaner parents, as discussed above, highlights the non-beneficial effects of the State's imposition of education policies that are against people's wishes. The government used the education system to advance its political, and not educational, ideals. The National Party, too, imposed policies that people did not approve and the result was a complete breakdown in Black education (see chapter 3). The same is evident in some of the ANC government's educational policies on private and home schools (see chapter 5).

2.2.5.2 Black education

Before the formation of the Union, English was used in mission schools which provided education for Blacks. There was only instruction in the indigenous languages in the early grades. English became, thus, the dominant language also in Black education. (See Behr 1988:99-100; Chick 1992:274; Christie 1985:34; Claassen 1995:458; Hartshorne 1992:188ff.)

The language policy for the education of Blacks was not statutorily prescribed Chick

(1992:274), and the practice of using a Black vernacular up to and including standard four continued. English was, during this period, gradually introduced and became the medium of instruction beyond standard four (see Behr 1984:22; Chick 1992:274; Malherbe 1977:9-10).

Although the use of English as a medium of instruction posed an understandable learning problem for Black pupils (see Claassen 1995:458; Hartshorne 1992:226; Heese 1992:44; Heiberg 1992:31-32; Human Sciences Research Council 1981:33), the Union government could not implement mother tongue instruction for Blacks because of the shortage of literature and textbooks in African languages and the lack of scientific terminology (Claassen 1995:458ff; Hartshorne 1992:192, 226ff). Nevertheless, there was increasing pressure on government from the Black community for the recognition of the African mother tongue as “the natural vehicle by means of which to reach the [Black] child’s mind ...” (Hartshorne 1992:192). Such pressure led to changes in Black education which were implemented from the 1930s till 1948.

The use of English as medium of instruction was maintained, but in all the provinces a Black vernacular language was added as a compulsory subject of study throughout the primary school and in teacher training colleges. At the secondary level most Black pupils took a Black vernacular language as subject, but it was not rendered a compulsory subject or a pre-requisite for the Junior Certificate (now grade 10) or the

Senior Certificate (now grade 12) (Behr 1988:103ff; Heese 1992:44ff; Lemmer 1993:146). The four provinces introduced English as medium of instruction at different levels as follows:

- * Natal. A Black vernacular language was used as medium of instruction for the first six years (up to and including standard four - now grade six). Thereafter, English was used as medium of instruction.
- * Cape and Free State. A Black vernacular language was used as medium of instruction during the first four years of schooling (that is, up to standard two (now grade four). Thereafter, English was used.
- * Transvaal. A Black vernacular was used for the first two years (grades one and two). Thereafter, learners had the right to choose between Afrikaans and English. The majority of learners chose English (Behr 1988:1103ff; Hartshorne 1992:193).

The above mentioned language policy was acceptable to the Black community. The Union government also introduced compulsory and free education, but only for Whites. This is discussed in the next section.

2.2.6 Compulsory and free education

At the time of the Union, education was compulsory for White children from seven to 14 years in each of the four provinces (Behr 1984:26ff). The Union government raised the earliest school leaving age from 14 to 16 years. The aim was to improve both school attendance as well as ensuring that pupils received formal education up to at least the Standard Eight Certificate. A Standard Eight Certificate at that time was adequate for many jobs (Malherbe 1977:424ff).

Compulsory education meant that more White children now progressed beyond primary education to secondary education, at least till standard eight (Christie 1985:51). Compulsory education also meant that free education had to be provided by the state. It was introduced in the four provinces as follows:

- * Transvaal. Free primary education was introduced in 1912 and free secondary education (including books) in 1914;
- * Natal. Free primary education was introduced in 1918 and free secondary education (excluding books) in 1942;
- * Cape. Free education up to standard six was introduced in 1920; and
- * Orange Free State. Only primary education was free, which it had been since 1903 (Behr 1984:27).

During the era of the Union, formal education for Blacks was never compulsory nor

free (Christie 1985:50-51; Malherbe 1977:254). This fact was, of course, resented by Blacks (a problem which the National Party government inherited in 1948 -see chapter 3). The resentment was especially bitter because the majority of the parents of Black children of school-going age did not have the financial means to pay school fees. Those children who did attend school could usually only afford two or three years of primary schooling and then they dropped-out. Very few Black pupils had the financial means to progress to secondary school (Christie 1985:51, 72; Hartshorne 1992:23; Vos & Brits 1990:98).

2.3 CONCLUSION

During the time of the Union, state control of education increased significantly. In all aspects of educational control, be it funding, teacher training, inspection, supplying facilities and resources and determining curriculum content, the state played the leading role and the execution of its role was on the whole beneficial for establishing a culture of learning and teaching in both White and Black schools.

However, during the time of the Union, the state used state schools to further its political goal of anglicisation to which the Afrikaners reacted by simply opting out of the state system and establishing Afrikaans private schools (see section 2.2.5.1). High academic standards were upheld in these private schools.

The anglicisation policy of the Union government is an example of the state overstepping its boundaries. The fact that it had no effect on the learning and teaching of Afrikaner children was because their parents opted out of the state school system. It can, therefore, be concluded that a culture of learning and teaching requires that there is room in society for the establishment of *alternative* private schools to which those parents who are dissatisfied with the state system can send their children.

The fact that the anglicisation policy had no effect on the learning and teaching of Afrikaner children does not negate the fact that the state's role in education should not include forcing its own ideological aims into the form and content of the education system. If it did, it would reduce schools to institutions of social engineering. Then schools no longer fulfil their central academic function, but serve the task of engineering the reform of society. A good, albeit tragic example of a social engineering programme is Black education during the apartheid era. State policies for Black education during this era, and their ramifications, are the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

THE STATE'S ROLE IN THE EDUCATION OF BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE APARTHEID ERA (1948-1989)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

On May 26, 1948, the National Party won the general election in South Africa, under the auspices of 'segregated development' and which became known as 'apartheid' (Davenport 1991:327-328; Lacour-Gayet 1970:293ff; Shillington 1987:158). Formal

education in South Africa was already racially separated prior to 1948 (see sections 2.2.1, 2.2.3, 2.2.4 and 2.2.6). The Nationalists and their apartheid ideology brought it to a climax (Davenport 1991:336ff; Van Zyl 1997:55) with laws such as the pass laws, separate entrances or amenities, exclusion from various amenities and professions, ban on mixed marriages, et cetera. In this chapter, the provision of formal school education in South Africa during the apartheid era will be discussed. The focus is on Black education for reasons given in chapter 1, section 1.2.

The chapter proceeds chronologically in relating educational changes and developments in Black education during the apartheid era. These are as follows:

- * the establishment and enforcement of apartheid education (1948-1976);
- * resistance and revolt against apartheid education (1976-1979); and
- * educational reforms (1979-1990).

3.2 BLACK EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA FROM 1948 TO 1976

3.2.1 The consolidation of separate (apartheid) education

The apartheid ideology of the National Party called for a separate education system for each racial group in South Africa (Davenport 1991:336; Shillington 1987:159). The first apartheid Act was the Bantu Authority Act of 1951 which was to segregate Blacks

into ethnic self-governing states (see Davenport 1991:33-339; Maylam 1986:167; Shillington 1988:159). Ten Black states, known as homelands, were established during the apartheid era, namely, Gazankulu, Lebowa, Venda, Qwa-qwa, Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Kangwane, Kwandebele and KwaZulu (Cross 1992:148; Davenport 1977:333; Maylam 1986:167).

In 1959, the National Party enacted the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959, which provided for the eventual independence of each homelend (Lepton 1986:23). Strong opposition to accepting independence came from Black leaders such as Albert Luthuli (KwaZulu), Moreamoche Sekhukhuni (Lebowa), Sabata Dalindyebo (Transkei) and from Black liberation movements such as the ANC and PAC who rejected Black separation through the homeland system and instead called for 'African unity' (Danzinger 1991:98ff; Davenport 1991:332; Maylam 1986:167ff, 181ff). Despite the strong opposition to the homeland system, the government implemented its homeland system. KwaZulu consistently refused independence, Transkei. Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei accepted independent status with the other five homelands believed to, at least in principle, have accepted independence, though this was actually only nominal since they never became financially independent (Davenport 1977:333; Liebenow 1986:116).

With regard to education, in 1953, the National Party government promulgated the

Bantu Education Act, Act no. 47 of 1953, which transferred the control of Black school education (including teacher training - see section 3.2.3) from the provincial administrations (see section 2.2.1) to a central state department, the Department of Native Affairs (Christie 1985:79; Claassen 1995:456; Davenport 1991:338; Lodge 1987:114; Shillington 1987:159; Van Zyl 1997:56; Vos & Brits 1990:66). All schools for Blacks, including all mission schools, had henceforth to be registered with the Department of Native affairs, or close down. The state allowed for the existence of three types of Black schools:

- * Bantu community schools established and/or maintained by Black authorities, tribes or communities and, in approved cases, subsidised by the State;
- * State-aided schools which were registered mission schools; and
- * State schools. All existing provincial schools fell under this category (Christie 1985:79; Davenport 1991:338ff; Hartshorne 1992:36; Lodge 1987:114; Vos & Brits 1990:66-67).

In 1958, Black education was put under its own department, called the Department of Bantu Education.

The National Party government also imposed racial restrictions at institutions of higher learning. In March 1957, the government introduced the Separate University

Education Bill. Through this Bill, the government aimed at prohibiting all White colleges and universities from admitting any non-White students, as well as prohibiting White students from attending institutions designed for non-Whites (Africa Watch 1991:74-75; Behr 1984:143-144, 1988:193; Centlivres & Fectham 1957:3-4; The Academic Freedom Committee 1974:vii, 9-10). The Bill was strongly opposed by the United Party, Native Representatives and the staff and students at the Universities of Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Natal and Rhodes, which led to a Commission of Inquiry into the Bill (Behr 1988:193). Nevertheless, in February 1959, the Bill was promulgated by Parliament as the Extension of University Education Act, Act no. 45 of 1959 (The Academic Freedom Committee 1974:9-10).

The Extension of University Education Act of 1959 made racial segregation in higher education mandatory and four university colleges for non-Whites were subsequently established. Two of these were for Coloureds and Indians, respectively and two were for Blacks (see Behr 1988:193; Rangaka 1985:21; The Academic Freedom Committee 1974:19; Vos & Brits 1990:67, 88). In the spirit of the Extension of University Education Act, the Fort Hare Transfer Act, Act no. 64 of 1959, transferred the control of Fort Hare University College (established in 1916) from Rhodes University to the then newly established Department of Bantu Education. The only university that was excluded from the National Party government's apartheid policy was the University of South Africa (UNISA), which was a correspondence university (Behr 1988:193;

The Academic Freedom 1974:19).

Despite strong opposition to segregated education from Blacks (see section 3.3), in 1968, the government transferred the control of Black education in each of the homelands (mentioned earlier in this section) to its homeland government. Within 'White' South Africa, the Department of Bantu Education retained control of Black education (Vos & Brits 1990:72).

In 1953, Verwoerd, the then Minister of Native Affairs, expressed his aim with Black education as follows:

I just want to remind you, the honourable Members of Parliament, that if the native in South Africa is being taught to expect that he will lead his adult life under the policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake. The native must not be subject to a school system which draws him away from his own community, and misleads him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze (Verwoerd quoted in Behr 1988:36; Claassen 1995:456-457; Christie 1985:93; Lepton 1986:24; Mncwabe 1990:21-22; Rangaka 1985:9; Shillington 1987:159; Troup in Van Zyl, 1997:55).

Verwoerd's statement was perceived to mean that Blacks were to receive low quality and inferior education to ensure that they remained manual labourers and thereby maintain a lower social status than Whites (Beckett 1990:118; Kraak 1989:199; Mncwabe 1990:20ff). Samuel (1990:17) points out that: "It [was] clear that the state was intent on maintaining an educational system that ensured the vast majority of [B]lack pupils had an inferior schooling". From the outset, therefore, Black education was understandably met with strong resistance from Black parents, teachers, students, community structures, churches and liberation organisations (Christie 1985:226ff; Lodge 1987:114, 118ff; Van Zyl 1997:75). Such resistance erupted violently in 1976, but before discussing these violent eruptions, the policies and practical functioning of education for Blacks during 1948 and until 1976 shall now be discussed.

3.2.2 The financing of Black education

From 1948 till 1955, Black education was financed from the General Revenue Account (Lodge 1987:115). Compared to White education, this funding was very low (see Beckett 1990:116ff; Christie 1985:98; Deacon & Parker 1998:133; Human Sciences Research Council 1981:74; Mncwabe 1993:5; Van Zyl 1997:76-77; Vos & Brits 1990:57; Wolpe & Unterhalter 1991:7). In 1955, via the Exchequer and Audit Amendment Act, Act no. 7 of 1955, a separate Bantu education account was created. An amount of R13 million was paid from the General Revenue Account into this

account as well as four fifths of a general poll tax collected under the provisions of the Native Taxation and Development Act of 1925, amounting to R 4 million (Beckett 1990:116ff; Hartshorne 1992:37; Lodge 1987:115; Vos & Brits 1990:57ff). The total of R17 million was thus allocated for Black education and it was to finance Black education for the next seventeen years, from 1955 to 1972. The money was to be spent as follows:

- * subsidisation of Black community schools;
- * establishment and/or maintenance of community schools;
- * establishment and/or maintenance of government schools;
- * establishment and/or maintenance of hostels, teachers' quarters, school clinics, et cetera; and
- * grants-in-aid to approved Black schools, for example, registered mission schools.(See Behr 1984:182; Christie 1985:98ff; Lodge 115ff.)

The spending of governmental money was, however, subject to the provision that the Minister of Native Affairs could at his discretion, at any time suspend, reduce or withdraw any subsidy or assistance granted to them (Behr 1984:182; Christie 1985:98ff).

The above mentioned amount of R 17 million over 17 years (that is, R 1 million per year) was in comparison with the funding of White education and the other two racial

groups in South Africa “disproportionately low” (Behr 1988:43; Human Sciences Research Council 1981:74; Vos & Brits 1990:57). Only after 1972, with the passing of the Bantu Education Account Act, Act no. 20 of 1972, did the government start improving, though slightly, the funding of Black education. Tables 3.1 and 3.2, show the extent of the differences in allocation of funds per pupil between the four population groups in South Africa, from 1953 to 1983.

Table 3.1 : Per capita expenditure on education in South Africa (selected years from 1953 to 1983)

Year	Blacks	Whites	Coloureds	Indians
1953-4	R 17-00	R 128-00	R 40-00	R 40-00
1969-70	R 17-00	R 282-00	R 73-00	R 81-00
1975-6	R 42-00	R 581-00	R140-00	R190-00
1977-8	R 54-00	R 657-00	R185-00	R276-00
1980-1	R139-00	R 913-00	R253-00	R513-00
1982-3	R146-00	R1211-00	R498-00	R711-00

(Christie 1985:98)

Table 3.2 : Per capita expenditure in South Africa in ratio form (selected years from 1953-1983)

Year	Blacks	Whites	Coloureds	Indians
1953-4	R 1-00	R 7-53	R 2-35	R 2-35
1969-70	R 1-00	R 16-59	R 4-29	R 4-76
1975-6	R 1-00	R 14-07	R 3-33	R 4-52
1977-8	R 1-00	R 12-12	R 3-43	R 5-11
1980-1	R 1-00	R 6-57	R 1-82	R 3-69
1982-3	R 1-00	R 8-27	R 3-40	R 4-86

(Christie 1985:100)

The government's low funding of Black education drew widespread protest from Black communities and from Christian churches. Social justice calls were made for education of equal quality for all, and this implied parity in "financing between individuals irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex" (Vos & Brits 1990:57). The protest calls were, however, of no avail and, as Hartshorne (1992:37) puts it, the

“iniquitous system” of financing Black education remained. Mncwabe (1993:5) criticises the government’s low funding of Black education as a “gross neglect of black education”.

The limited funding of Black education directly affected all aspects of formal schooling, be it the training and supply of Black teachers and their conditions of service, supervision, inspection and in-service education of teachers, building of new schools/classrooms and the supply of teaching and learning resources. In the following sections a brief look will be taken at each of these issues.

3.2.3 The training of teachers and their conditions of service

3.2.3.1 The training of teachers

Prior to 1948, Black teachers had been trained either at mission training centres or at government training institutions (Behr 1988:193; Christie 1985:79; Hartshorne 1992:235; The Academic Freedom Committee 1974:19). After the passing of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (see section 3.2.1), the National Party government restricted teacher training to Departmental training centres. Teacher qualifications obtained at unsegregated missionary centres would no longer be recognized by the Department (Chick 1992:275; Christie 1985:79). Subsequently, 26 of the 38

missionary teacher training colleges in existence in 1948 were closed down between 1956 and 1966. The colleges that were not closed down were taken over by the state (Christie 1985:67-68; Hartshorne 1992:236). However, in accordance with the apartheid ideal of segregating Blacks in the homelands (see section 3.2.1), the colleges that were in White areas were gradually closed down and new colleges were built in the homelands (see Hartshorne 1992:237; The Academic Freedom Committee 1974:19). By 1961, there were 45 very small and under-resourced Black teacher training colleges in all ten homelands.

The colleges of education trained primary school teachers whilst secondary school teachers were trained at the newly formed Black state university colleges (see Sieborger & Kenyon 1992:147ff; section 3.2.1). The numbers of Black teachers trained were, however, not nearly enough to cope with the growth in pupil enrolments and to replace those teachers who had retired (Claassen 1995:449; Goodey 1988:18; Mncwabe 1993:25-26; Vos & Brits 1990:53). Some graduate teachers also took up non-teaching posts after qualifying as teachers (Hartshorne 1992:237; Vos & Brits 1990:105ff). By 1970 there was a severe shortage of suitably qualified teachers in Black schools (see Hofmeyr & Jaff 1992:175ff; Lodge 1987:115ff; Samuel 1990:20). Vos and Brits (1990:105) and Samuel (1990:20) point out that the teacher/pupil ratio deteriorated from 1:40 in 1950 to 1:54 in 1975, against 1:20 in White schools. In an attempt to alleviate the shortage of qualified teachers, a number of privately paid

teachers (mostly unqualified and/or under-qualified) were employed. Parents were responsible for the payment of their salaries (Claassen 1995:449; Hartshorne 1992:237ff; Vos & Brits 1990:105ff).

Limited funds handicapped Black schools (see section 3.2.2) as well as the training of Black teachers. The new colleges which were built were too small and under-resourced, and the existing colleges had limited resources (Vos & Brits 1990:105), which meant that the quality of training and the subsequent quality of Black teachers left much to be desired (Human Sciences Research Council 1981:63-64). The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) (Behr 1988:42) describes the result as follows:

... an unfortunate cycle ... by which poorly educated persons enter teaching and in turn produce poorly educated students, so that a risk is run of perpetuating mediocrity in the group whose educational improvement is essential to the development of the country.

In addition to the fact that too few Black teachers were trained and that such training left a lot to be desired, the conditions of service of Black teachers were appalling which, of course, had a negative effect on their morale. These conditions are formulated in the next section.

3.2.3.2 Conditions of service

The salaries of Black teachers were grossly inadequate and less than those of White teachers (Mncwabe 1993:6, 26-27). In 1970, Black and White teachers with the same qualifications and service experience, namely a senior certificate and three years of training and four years experience, were paid as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 : Annual salary of South African teachers in 1970

Gender	Black	White
Men	R 1 200 x 60 - R 1 800 x 90 - R 2 160	R 3 000 x 180 - R 4 620
Women	R 1 080 x 60 - R 1800 x 90 - R 2 070	R 2 640 x 180 - R 4 080

(Hartshorne 1992:287).

Black teachers also had few service benefits. During the period 1953 to 1971, Black teachers did not qualify for pensions. Only after 1972, with the passing of the Bantu Education Account Act, Act no. 20 of 1972 (see section 3.2.2), did permanently employed Black teachers in government schools qualify for pensions. They, however, were not given maternity or study leave, housing subsidy and

medical aid, which White teachers in permanent posts were given (Hartshorne 1992:288).

Black teachers also worked under appalling conditions. They taught in broken-down shacks, mud and wattle huts and church halls (Behr 1988:42; Christie 1985: Claassen 1995:456; Lodge 1987:115; Mncwabe 1993:25; Samuel 1990:20; Vos & Brits 1990:58). Furthermore, Black teachers had to cope with huge classes. A teacher:pupil ratio of 1:53 to 1:60 was the norm, compared to 1:19 to 1:21 for Whites (see Goodey 1988:17; Malherbe 1977:255; Mncwabe 1993:74ff; Samuel 1990:20; Vos & Brits 1990:105). In addition, Black teachers, particularly in primary schools, had to work daily double sessions due to the shortage of teachers (Lodge 1987:115; Samuel 1990:20; Vos & Brits 1990:105). Black teachers worked, therefore, under very stressful conditions. In this regard Hartshorne (1992:290) comments: “White teachers would not have accepted [such conditions] for a week without serious repercussions for government”.

In the next section the supervision and in-service education of Black teachers is discussed.

3.2.4 Supervision, inspection and in-service teacher training programmes

On April 1, 1954, following the transfer of Black education from provincial to central control (see section 3.2.1), the inspectoral services for Black schools were also placed under the control of the Department of Native Affairs. Various circuits of inspection were set up in the four provinces. White inspectors for Black education were appointed and posted to different regions throughout the country. The inspectors had a wide range of duties which included visiting and assisting school principals and teachers, organising courses and attending to various problems experienced by schools and/or teachers (Behr 1984:176-177; Hartshorne 1992:11-12; Mncwabe 1990:3, 20; see section 2.2.4).

Limited funds (see section 3.2.2) meant that too few inspectors of Black education were appointed. Subsequently, the inspectorate programmes focused on very few Black schools, and these were mainly the easily accessible urban government schools. The Black schools in rural and farm areas, which were the majority, were neglected (see Beckett 1990:116ff; Hartshorne 1992:12ff; Mncwabe 1990:3, 20).

Between 1954 and 1976, the state introduced various in-service teacher training programmes in an attempt to improve the quality and standard of in-service Black teachers. These included circuit based courses run by inspectors, the appointment of advisory subject specialists and an in-service training centre established in 1961 in

Mamelodi, near Pretoria, for teacher training during school holidays (see Hartshorne 1992:263ff; Goodey 1988:18; Vos & Brits 1990:105-106; Hofmeyr & Jaff 1992:175ff).

Hartshorne (1992:269), Hofmeyr and Jaff (1992:176ff) and Vos and Brits (1990:106) point out that the government's inspection, supervision and the in-service teacher education programmes provided an effective level of professional support to Black teachers, but only to the teachers in those areas where these programmes were conducted. The restriction of these programmes to urban areas was due to a shortage of funds. Thus:

- * Too few inspectors of schools were appointed; Black schools in easily accessible areas were supervised, whilst rural and farm schools, which were in the majority, were neglected.
- * Too few subject specialists were appointed.
- * The Natural Science mobile laboratories were very limited and, subsequently, only the schools in urban areas could be serviced.
- * Only the one in-service teacher training centre, near Pretoria, was established, thus, benefiting only the teachers and pupils in or near Pretoria.

The poor state of inspection, supervision and in-service teacher education programmes

in the majority of Black schools were perceived by Blacks as neglect of and disregard for Black education by the state, in favour of White education (see Mncwabe 1992:20, 1993:4-5; Beckett 1990:113,116, 133; Hartshorne 1992:69, 269; Human Sciences Research Council 1981:22ff; Mncwabe 1993:3ff). This perception was reinforced by the fact that quality and standard of Black education remained very low. This was evident by the low matriculation results in Black schools. At some schools, in Soweto, the matriculation results declined during the period from 1948 to 1976. (See Beckett 1990:113, 133; Hartshorne 1992:69ff; Hofmeyr & Buckland 1992:29.)

The standard and quality of education, both learning and teaching, in Black schools were also affected by the shortage of classrooms and other educational resources, which is discussed in the following section.

3.2.5 Lack of adequate classrooms and other educational resources

The limited funding of Black education by the National Party government led to a serious shortage of Black schools and/or classrooms as well as books (see Christie 1985:36-38; Hartshorne 1992:24; Claassen 1995:456ff; Lodge 1987:115; Mncwabe 1993:24; Vos & Brits 1990:58). The existing schools were overcrowded and there were children who could not attend school simply because there was no school in their vicinity (Lodge 1987:115). In rural areas lessons were often given outside under the

trees or in shacks, old buses and old church buildings (Christie 1985:36ff; Claassen 1995:456; Mncwabe 1993:24). This sorry state of affairs naturally exacerbated the already low standard of teaching (Behr 1988:42) of the inadequately trained Black teachers (see section 3.2.3.1). The shabby handling of Black education in contrast to White education bred great resentment among Blacks, especially since the contrast was so stark: “White classrooms [were] half-filled, [or] whole school buildings st[oo]d empty, black scholars cramm[ed] into leaking, cold miserable structures by hundreds” (Mncwabe 1993:24). Blacks perceived their shabby treatment as a deliberate plan of the National Party to keep Blacks inferior to Whites (Behr 1988:42; Kraak 1989:197; Mncwabe 1991:20, 1993:4-5). This had, after all, been Black perception since Verwoerd’s parliamentary statement made in 1953 (see section 3.2.1).

The lack of free and compulsory education for Blacks was another factor that bred resentment.

3.2.6 Lack of compulsory and free education

Already before the apartheid era, all or part of primary education for Whites was compulsory and free (see section 2.2.6). After 1967, via the National Education Act, Act no. 39, all primary and secondary White education was free and compulsory up to the age of 16 (see Behr 1984:373ff, 1988:104; Christie 1985:106; Venter & Verster 1976:119). Black education was still, however, neither compulsory nor free (Claassen

1995:472; Human Sciences Research Council 1991:63ff; Vos & Brits 1990:98). This had two ramifications. First, Black children whose parents could not afford to pay for their education (e.g. school fees, textbooks and stationery) did not receive schooling. Second, Black parents were not legally obligated to send their children to school; their children could play truant with no legal consequences. Subsequently, the number of Blacks without any or with only minimal schooling was very high (Christie 1985:106; Claassen 1995:449; Kraak 1989:199; Mncwabe 1990:21; Ntshoe 1987:40).

In the next section, the curriculum of Black education during 1948 to 1976 will be outlined.

3.2.7 The curriculum for Black education

Black education was divided into four phases, namely the lower primary, higher primary, junior secondary and senior secondary phases. Prior to 1975, the system of education in Black schools was a 13 year 4-4-3-2 pattern. In White education the system was a twelve year 3-3-3-3 pattern (see Claassen 1995:475; Steyn 1997:151-152; Venter & Verster 1986:122; Vos & Brits 1990:84). The structure of Black education from 1948 to 1974 is reflected in Table 3.4.

Table 3.3 : The structure of Black education (1948 - 1974)

Year of schooling	Class	Phase
1-4	sub-std A - std 2	lower primary
5-8	std 3 - std 6	higher primary
9-11	form I - form III	junior secondary
12-13	form IV - form V	senior secondary

(Behr 1984:185)

In 1975, the final year of the higher primary phase was scrapped and a twelve-year 4-3-3-2 system was adopted. The new structure is reflected in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 : The 12-year structure of Black education (1975 - 1990)

Year of schooling	Class	Phase
1-4	sub-std A - std 2	lower primary
5-7	std 3 - std 5	higher primary
8-10	std 6 - std 8	junior secondary

11-12	std 9 - std 10	senior secondary
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(Behr 1984:185; Vos & Brits 1990:84)

The curriculum in each phase of Black education was basically the same as the curriculum for Whites. The quality of teaching and the physical facilities were, however, so vastly inferior in Black education that, despite the same curriculum, the standard upheld in Black education was much lower than that upheld in White education (see Christie 1985:36ff; Hartshorne 1992:24; Claassen 1995:456ff; Lodge 1987:115; Mncwabe 1993:24; Vos & Brits 1990:58).

The fact that the curricula in each of the four phases were the same for both White and Black education was laudable. It did not reflect Verwoerd's aim of restricting Blacks to manual labour in White South Africa (see section 3.2.1). Furthermore, though the aim was to restrict Blacks to manual labour, during 1948 and 1975 Black education was solely academic in nature (Christie 1985:108ff; Kraak 1989:197; Mncwabe 1993:20; Searle 1988:26). Technical centres/schools for Blacks were only established after 1975. Though Black education was solely academic prior to 1975, the poor academic standards in Black education (see sections 3.2.3 to 3.2.6) meant that few Blacks gained university admission, and, at the same time, the lack of technical training meant that Blacks could not become artisans and technicians (see

Claassen 1995:477; Malherbe 1977:7, 32, 156, 423-424, 429; Mncwabe 1993:20; Searle 1988:26-27). Thus, as Mncwabe (1993:3) says, Blacks had:

... not received a sufficient [technical] education for induction directly into industrial training programme. ... the overall inadequacy of young [B]lacks who have completed part or all of their secondary level schooling within an education system so low in quality ... [makes] it difficult for them to meet the demands of modern society.

Searle (1988:26) points out the irony that: “industry [was] crying out for people with technical skills, to the extent that many [South African] industries [were] forced to recruit such employees from outside the country - and this in the face of massive [Black] unemployment at home”.

Kraak (1989:197) points out that Blacks resented the lack of technical education. They did not, however, want education for ‘blue collar’ labour, which had been Verwoerd’s aim (see section 3.2.1), but high standard academic instruction and the option of ‘white collar’ technical education (see Mncwabe 1993:3).

In South Africa, language in education has always been an emotive issue (see section 2.2.5). Chick (1992:272) points out that during the apartheid era the language policy was “a particularly emotive issue because language differences have been used as

grounds for segregating children, and because this policy has been an instrumental for discrimination against the mass of the people in favour of the few”.

In the next section the problems associated with the medium of instruction in Black education during 1948 to 1976 shall be discussed.

3.2.8 The medium of instruction and the language policy in Black schools

The language policy was the spark that eventually erupted into violence in 1976, and the issue was the use of Afrikaans, and not only English, as medium of instruction. The discontent started to build in 1949 when the government appointed the Eiselen Committee to investigate the language policy for Blacks. The Eiselen Committee made the following recommendations:

- * Black education should be through the medium of the mother tongue for the first four years, and this should be progressively extended year by year to all eight years of the primary school.
- * One of the official languages (that is, English and Afrikaans) should be compulsory, and Black pupils should be allowed an option of studying the other official language as a subject.
- * Terminology committees should be set up to produce manuals for the

teachers to facilitate a gradual extension of mother-tongue instruction to Black secondary schools.

- * Mother-tongue instruction should be used in teacher training colleges for school organization, child psychology and subject methodologies. Those subjects should also then be taught through the mother-tongue in the primary school.

- * In teacher training colleges both official languages (that is, English and Afrikaans) should be compulsory subjects (see Behr 1988:32ff; Davenport 1991:337; Hartshorne 1992:31ff, 196-197; Mnwabe 1993:4; Van Zyl 1997:69).

Following on the Eiselen Committee's recommendations the government laid down the following regulations with regard to the medium of instruction in Black state school education:

- * Mother-tongue instruction was to be phased in for the entire primary phase.
- * Both English and Afrikaans were to be compulsory subjects from the first year of schooling.
- * Both English and Afrikaans were to be used on a 50-50 basis as media of instruction in secondary schools.

A choice between the two official languages as a single medium of instruction in secondary schools was not allowed.

Chick (1992:275) makes the following comment regarding the state's language policy:

Consistent with apartheid ideology, mother-tongue instruction prepared the different language groups for a separate existence. Concurrently, the policy, by emphasising language differences, served to divide and rule black people.

It also set a ceiling on their advancement by obliging them to learn content subject through two 'foreign' media in high schools.

Dual medium instruction actually implied a triple medium of instruction: "While examination subjects were to be taught on an equal basis through English and Afrikaans, non-examination subjects, like religion and music, were to be presented in the [Black] vernacular" (Van Zyl 1997:69).

The policy was, understandably, a source of discontent. Most Blacks wanted English, as an international language, to be the only medium of instruction in Black secondary schools (Davenport 1991:337ff; Finchilescu & Nyawose 1998:57; Hartshorne 1992:197-198; Van Zyl 1997:69). The government's language policy was met with strong opposition from Black teachers, parents, pupils, community organizations, the South African Institute of Race Relations and the South African Council of Churches

(see Christie 1985:146; Davenport 1991:389ff; Lodge 1987:120ff; Van Zyl 1997:69, 75; Voya et al 1990:131). Many Black teachers, particularly in the Cape, resigned while the majority of those who remained refused to implement the new language policy. Among the latter were members of the executive committee of the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA) and the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA). The official ATASA memorandum of complaint described the medium policy as:

... educationally indefensible; the compulsory use of both Afrikaans and English as media cannot be justified on educational grounds, it is completely unnecessary, indeed it may be gratuitously unjust to compel the use of yet another foreign language [that is, Afrikaans, in addition to English] as a medium, and in this way to double the burden of mastery (Hartshorne 1992:199).

Black teachers, parents, pupils and church leaders wanted English to be the only medium of instruction in secondary schools (Claassen 1995:458ff; Finchilescu & Nyawose 1998:54, 57; Mawasha 1996:36; Vos & Brits 1990:102). The use of dual medium instruction in examination subjects was identified as a major contributing factor to the persistently low matriculation results in Black schools. Blacks maintained that it was unfair to expect them to learn and write examinations not only in one

foreign language but in two and, at the same time, to match and compete with White pupils who learned and wrote examinations in their first language (Chick 1992:275; Claassen 1995:458). Despite the opposition from the Black community, dual medium instruction remained policy in Black schools till the early 1970s.

In March 1971, the Bantu Education Advisory Board reviewed the medium of instruction in Black schools and, in June 1972, the Board made the following recommendations to the Department:

- * Mother-tongue instruction should be used up to standard four. From standard five upwards, the medium of instruction should be *either* English or Afrikaans. A Black language could be used for Religious Education, if so preferred.
- * The time allocation of the official language which was not chosen as medium of instruction should be increased.
- * English and Afrikaans should be taught as subjects in all grades.
- * Teachers should be bilingually trained. (See Chick 1992:276; Hartshorne 1992:200; Vos & Brits 1990:102.)

In September 1972, the following language policy in Black schools was approved:

- * The mother-tongue was the medium of instruction up to standard four.

- * From standard five upwards, there would be three alternatives:
 - # English could be used throughout;
 - # Afrikaans could be used throughout; or
 - # English and Afrikaans could be used on a 50-50 basis.
- * For schools in the Black homelands, the decision as to which alternative would be followed was to be taken by each homeland government, in consultation with the Minister of Bantu Education (Vos & Brits 1990:102).

The new language policy was welcomed by Blacks, and Chicks (1992:276) comments that: “Significantly, when the government gave in and agreed to one medium, to be decided by the school from standard 5 onwards, the overwhelming choice was for English rather than Afrikaans”.

In 1974, the Minister of Bantu Education, without giving reasons, decided to reinstate the dual medium policy in all Black secondary schools that fell under the Department of Bantu Education. The Boards of the schools around Soweto refused to implement the reinstated dual medium policy. They informed the Secretary of Bantu Education that they would maintain the use of English from standard 3 to standard 10 (Van Zyl 1997:70). The Department of Bantu Education reacted by demanding the immediate repeal of such school board decisions, and recalcitrant school board members and school principals were dismissed. The counter-reaction from Blacks pupils was

boycotts and resistance against examinations (Van Zyl 1997:70).

Dual medium instruction was reinstated for political, not educational, reasons, namely “to protect the position of Afrikaans” and it subjugated the interests of the pupils to political considerations (Hartshorne 1992:201). This policy sparked violent confrontation with the pupils themselves, starting with the Soweto uprising in June 1976.

3.3 BLACK RESISTANCE AGAINST APARTHEID EDUCATION

The enactment of the Black Education Act of 1953 and the Extension of University Act of 1959 (see section 3.2.1), were met with resistance from Black parents, community structures, church organisations and staff and students in the Black universities as well as the English ‘open’ universities, namely, the Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand, Natal and Rhodes (see Christie 1985:232-233; Foner 1995:175-176; Kraak 1989:212; The Academic Freedom Committee 1974:10-11). At this stage, the resistance took the form of peaceful marches and memoranda being presented to the government. In the early 1970s, strikes, protests and demonstrations occurred increasingly at Black universities, and spread over to Black schools. The uprisings in Soweto schools in June 1976 started an era of violent student protests.

On 16 June, 1976, a mass protest march against Afrikaans as medium of instruction

was held by some twenty thousand school children from Black schools in Soweto, near Johannesburg. This protest march sparked off other marches from schools in the Witwatersrand, Cape Peninsula and elsewhere (Behr 1984:195ff; Christie 1985:232ff; Danzinger 1991:101; Davenport 1991:389; Hatchen & Giffard 1984:3; Kane-Berman in Maylam, 1986:193; Kraak 1989:199). The march in Soweto started off as a peaceful protest, but violent clashes with the police ensued when the latter attempted to stop the march. Tear gas and live ammunition were used by the security forces. The 13-year-old schoolboy, Hector Petersen, was the first fatality. Official figures indicated that in Soweto more than hundred pupils were killed; unofficial estimates went as high as one thousand (Hatchen & Giffard 1984:4).

The violence in Soweto triggered further riots in schools, colleges and universities throughout the country, and the concomitant vandalism varied from stone throwing to petrol bombing (Behr 1994:195; Danzinger 1991:101; Davenport 1991:392-393; Maylam 1986:194). The state of violent unrest in Black education persisted for eight months. By February 1977, more than a thousand Black students had been killed and over three thousand injured. Incalculable damage had been caused to state and private property, and this included government offices, magistrates' courts, public schools, colleges and universities, clinics, community halls, churches, bottle stores, petrol filling stations, private homes, buses and cars (see Behr 1984:195; Danzinger 1991:101; Kane-Berman in Davenport, 1991:392; Maylam 1986:194). The cost was huge. At the

University of Zululand, for example, the damage was estimated at R500 000 (Behr 1984:196).

The 1976 pupil and student unrest marked the start of violent revolt and resistance to apartheid education, which continued till the late 1980s (see Kraak 1989:199; Danzinger 1991:102; Davenport 1991:389; Van Zyl 1997:79-80). Student organisations, such as the South African Students Organisation (SASO), South African Students Movement (SASM) and Pan African Students Organisation (PASO), were formed to lead the students' 'struggle'. Slogans, such as 'Liberation First, Education Later', 'Equal Education', 'Education Towards Democracy', 'Education for Liberation', et cetera, were used to mobilise students (Badat 1998:14ff; Deacon & Parker 1998:133; Levin 1991:1-2; Van Zyl 1997:79-80). Educational institutions became centres for political liberation, and Black education was characterised by class boycotts, marches, clashes with police, stone-throwing, and the burning of school buildings and other state property (Behr 1984:195, 1988:36ff; Christie 1985:244ff; Ntshoe 1987:141). The violence and persistence of the unrest made it "clear that an impasse had been reached in the education of [Blacks] in South Africa" (Behr 1988:36).

In 1979, the government started to address the breakdown in Black education. Its first move was the appointment of a commission, headed by Mr Justice P.M. Cillie, to

investigate the causes of the 1976 unrest.

The report of the Cillie Commission, tabled in Parliament on 20 February 1980, indicated the following as the causes:

- * the low standard of Black education;
- * the poor quality of teaching in Black schools;
- * lack of adequate school infrastructure;
- * lack of adequate equipment in Black schools; and
- * the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction (The Natal Mercury, 1/3/1980:1-5; Davenport 1991:389ff; Van Zyl 1997:70; Vos & Brits 1990:55; Voya et al. 1990:131).

The Cillie Commission pointed out that:

Among the Black community, especially in Soweto, there was considerable dissatisfaction with education. ... many described the object of the system of education as a premeditated effort to educate the Black pupil in such a way that he would be submissive to the Whites or, to put it more strongly, that he would be and remain the slave of the oppressor (Behr 1988:37).

Segregated education, with the poor funding of Black schools (see section 3.2.2), under-qualified Black teachers (see section 3.2.3.1), poor teacher service conditions (see section 3.2.3.2), poor supervision and inspection services in Black schools and inadequate in-service teacher training programmes (see section 3.2.4), lack of adequate classrooms and other educational resources (see section 3.2.5), lack of compulsory and free education (3.2.6) and, finally, Afrikaans as an enforced medium of instruction (see section 3.2.8), were “inherently unjust, unequal and discriminatory” (Vos & Brits 1990:55). Mncwabe (1993:26) points out that “[m]ajor problems such as under-funding, classroom shortages, overcrowding, lack of qualified teachers, and abysmal living conditions [in Black schools] have all contributed to a state of affairs which [could] not be ... tolerated”.

The violence that erupted in schools, colleges and universities was, therefore, the expression and outlet of the anger at the injustices that Blacks had suffered under the state policy of apartheid (see Behr 1984:190; Davenport 1991:389; Mncwabe 1993:5; Maylam 1986:194; The Natal Mercury 1/3/1980:1-5). Among other things, the pupils of Soweto (and other parts of South Africa) were saying that “they had been let down by their education system and that they wanted an education system as good as anyone else’s, with the opportunity to use it, once acquired” (Mncwabe 1993:5). It was an “open rejection of both the racial separation of schooling and the inequality of provision ... lack of accountability of the system of [South African] education to its

clients and the failure of the government's efforts to incorporate the black education systems symbolically into a single ministry ..." (Hofmeyr & Buckland 1992:29).

Racial discrimination "had bred great hatred and discontent among Blacks, which contributed strongly to creating the spirit of revolt that flared up at the time" (Behr 1984:197). The heart of the "disease in South Africa's education system [was] its separateness and the ideology which [was] the rationale for that separateness" (Mncwabe 1993:6). Pupils were expressing their hate of segregated education in particular, and the apartheid system in general, of which the language issue was the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back (Danzinger 1991:101; Davenport 1991:389-390; Engelbrecht 1992:496; Van Zyl 1997:79; Vos & Brits 1990:55). Sadly, however, they engaged in activities (class boycotts and the destruction of school buildings and other resources) which are the very antithesis of a culture of learning and teaching. The state and standard of Black education, which was already very poor and characterised by serious shortage of infrastructure and other resources (Beckett 1990:113, 116, 133, Hartshorne 1992:69, 269; Human Sciences Research Council 1981:22ff; Mncwabe 1990:19ff, 1993:26ff; see sections 3.2.2 to 3.2.5), broke down completely.

The violence that started in June 1976 did, however, force the state to give heed to the anger of Black students. Reforms aimed at restoring the breakdown in Black education

were started.

3.4 GOVERNMENT REFORMS IN BLACK EDUCATION FROM THE LATE 1970s TO 1990

The government's educational reforms following the 1976 uprisings will be discussed in two sections:

- * the immediate reforms (reforms during the late 1970s); and
- * reforms flowing from the De Lange Commission (reforms during the 1980s).

3.4.1 Immediate reforms during the late 1970s

In 1979, the National Party government passed the Education and Training Act, Act no. 90 of 1979, which replaced the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (see section 3.2.1). Subsequently, the name was changed from the Department of Bantu Education to the Department of Education and Training (Van Zyl 1997:56; Vos & Brits 1990:67-68). The Education and Training Act of 1979, stipulated, *inter alia*, the following:

- * Education should be compulsory and free (including the supply of books)

subject to the cooperation of parents;

- * Education should be provided in accordance with the ability, aptitude and interest of the pupil as well as the training needs of the country, and to this end appropriate guidance should be given to pupils;
- * There should be coordination with other departments of education in respect of syllabuses, courses and examination standards;
- * Recognition should be given to the active involvement of the parents through parent-teachers' associations, or other local committees or councils;
- * Health services should be provided in schools in conjunction with the Department of Health; and
- * More teachers should be trained and appointed, and conditions of service, salaries, pension and retirement benefits should be improved. (Behr 1984:200-203, 380-395; Van Zyl 1997:79; Vos & Brits 1990:67-68.)

With regard to the medium of instruction, the Education and Training Act, Act no. 90 of 1979, laid down the following:

- * Mother tongue instruction was to be used up to and including standard two;
- * From standard three upwards, either English or Afrikaans was to be adopted as medium of instruction;
- * The wishes of parents should be considered when deciding on the medium

of instruction beyond standard two;

- * Both English and Afrikaans should be offered as subjects; and
- * In the secondary level, pupils would have a choice of at least two languages in order to gain a Senior Certificate or matriculation exemption. Afrikaans, as a subject, was no longer necessary for Black matriculation candidates. (See Behr 1984:200-203, 380-395; Hartshorne 1992:204-205; Van Zyl 1997:70, 79; Vos & Brits 1990:101-102.)

Subsequently, most Black schools chose English as the medium of instruction from standard three to standard ten (see Chick 1992:276; Vos & Brits 1990:101-102), and “by 1978, 96 per cent of all black pupils were being taught through the medium of English from standard 5” (Hartshorne in Chick, 1992:276).

Despite the stipulations of the Education and Training Act, Act no. 90 of 1979, in practice “education for [Blacks] remained virtually the same” (Christie 1985:56). In other words, the state of Black education did not improve (Beckett 1990:113, 116, 133; Christie 1985:56; Mncwabe 1993:7ff). Commenting on the Act, Mncwabe (1993:7) says that while the Act provided and facilitated “many practical and material improvements, it did not come to grips at all with the isolation of black education, and merely perpetuated the ‘tradition’ of whites taking the decisions for the black man”. The Education and Training Act was viewed by Blacks as simply another imposition

of White government on Blacks, as had been the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (Beckett (1990:118). What Blacks wanted was the total scrapping of apartheid education and the establishment of a single non-racial education system (see Engelbrecht 1992:496; Hofmeyr & Buckland 1992:29; Mncwabe 1993:6-7).

The provision of the Education and Training Act for the “active involvement of the parents” in education was also rejected by Black parents. Black parents, especially in urban areas, refused to support or be part of any apartheid policies and apartheid education. Black parent committees, such as the Soweto Parents’ Crisis Committee, together with other liberation organisations, were in the forefront during the struggle against apartheid (see Badat 1998:14ff; Gabela 1990:10; Muller 1992:10ff). There were, however, Black parents, especially in rural areas, who were not part of the struggle. They paid school fees and ensured that their children attended school regularly (Gabela 1990:10; Muller 1992:10ff).

The failure of the Education and Training Act to improve the poor state of Black education forced the government to make further reforms in the 1980s (Human Sciences Research Council 1981:1ff; Ntshoe 1987:40; Van Zyl 1997:56).

3.4.2 Reforms in the 1980s

In June 1980, the government requested the HSRC to conduct an in-depth research into the education of Blacks, Whites, Coloureds and Indians in South Africa, and to recommend to Cabinet within twelve months on the following issues:

- * guiding principles for a feasible education policy in the RSA in order to:
 - # allow for the self-realization of all the inhabitants of the country;
 - # promote economic growth in the RSA; and
 - # improve the quality of life of all the inhabitants of the country.
- * the organization and control structure and financing of education;
- * guiding principles for consultation and decision making in education;
- * an education infrastructure to provide for the manpower requirements of the RSA and the self-realization of its inhabitants; and
- * a programme for giving the same quality of education to all population groups. (Behr 1988:38; Engelbrecht 1992:495ff; Human Sciences Research Council 1981:1ff; Mncwabe 1993:14ff; Vos & Brits 1990:55.)

The HSRC investigation, headed by Professor JP De Lange, tabled its report in 1981.

The following were the main recommendations:

- * Education for all four races should be controlled centrally by a single department.

- * A single education ministry for all population groups should be established.
- * Equal opportunities and equal standards in education should be implemented.
- * Unutilised White education facilities should be made available to Blacks who did not have such facilities;
- * Education should be compulsory and free for all four population groups.
- * There should be parity in educational funding irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex.
- * The role of private schools, as independent institutions, should be recognised and they should receive financial aid.
- * Quality education should be provided to all four population groups.
- * School buildings and other facilities, such as laboratories, sports grounds, et cetera, should be improved and/or built.
- * The supply of suitably qualified teachers should be expanded.
- * Inspection and supervision in schools should be improved. (See Behr 1988:38-58; Human Sciences Research Council 1981:8ff; Mncwabe 1993:14ff; Van Zyl 1997:56; Vos & Brits 1990:58ff.)

The De Lange report was widely debated, both within and outside parliament. Finally, in November 1983, the government published a White Paper on education which set out the government's intentions for educational reform during the 1980s. The White

Paper did not include the De Lange report's recommendations that education should be centrally controlled and that there should a single education ministry for all four population groups in South Africa (Kraak 1989:204; Mncwabe 1993:24; Van Zyl 1997:56). The government maintained, first, that the central control of education would lead to administrative inefficiency and, second, that differentiated control took "community values into account and allow[ed] full scope for self-determination for each population group in regard to its education as an own affair" (Behr 1988:58).

The creation of a single education ministry in the Republic of South Africa was, in fact, antithetical to apartheid ideology. The National Party was, at that stage, not prepared to reject its apartheid ideology, but they did realise that concessions in the form of greater political say for the other, non-white population groups, were necessary. However, such concession was only made for Coloureds and Indians.

In 1983, the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, Act no. 110 of 1983, was passed. It provided for three Houses of Parliament, namely:

- * House of Assembly (representing Whites);
- * House of Representatives (representing Coloureds); and
- * House of Delegates (representing Indians) (see Davenport 1991:430ff; Steyn 1997:141; Van Zyl 1997:58; Vos & Brits 1990:62ff).

The Black community, the majority in South Africa, were not given parliamentary representation. The rationale was that Blacks had parliamentary representation in the homelands (Danzinger 1991:92; Lacour-Gayet 1970:299; Shillington 1987:159). This was, understandably, unacceptable to Black South Africans who detested the homeland system (see section 3.2.1).

With regard to education, the government promulgated the National Policy for General Affairs Act, Act no. 76 of 1984. The Act strengthened the autonomy of the so-called ‘own affairs’ education departments for Whites, Coloureds and Indians. Black education was rendered as a ‘general affair’ and it remained under the control of the Department of Education and Training. (See Goodey 1988:13; Mncwabe 1993:24; Steyn 1997:141; Van Zyl 1997:79-80; Vos & Brits 1990:63-65.) The General Affairs Act reinforced the perception of Blacks that Whites regarded them as inferior to and less important than the other population groups. Consequently, the struggle against apartheid and the politicisation of education for educational and political liberation were intensified (Badat 1998:14ff).

Despite the government’s refusal to unify educational control in one Department, some significant reforms were made in Black education during the 1980s, and included the following:

Improvement in the funding of Black education: The budget for Black education was considerably increased (see Christie 1985:98ff; Mncwabe 1993:6; Vos & Brits 1990:111-112; Claassen 1995:487ff). In 1980/81, R1,00 had been spent on a Black pupil for every R10,00 spent on his/her White counterpart (that is, a ratio of 1:10). In 1989/90, this gap was reduced to R1,00 for every R5,00 (that is, 1:5) (Beckett 1990:117; Christie 1985:98ff; Goodey 1988:17; Mncwabe 1993:25). During 1989/90, “the South African education system consumed approximately 22 percent of the state budget”, of which a significant amount was allocated to reforming Black education (Deacon & Parker 1998:136-137).

Improvement in the training of Black teachers: More Black teacher training colleges were built, and to improve the standard of teacher training, three year teacher diplomas were introduced, namely, Primary Teachers Diploma (PTD) and Secondary Teachers Diploma (STD), with standard ten as the minimum entry requirement (see Vos & Brits 1990:105). Furthermore, from 1984, following the replacement of the Extension of University Education Act, Act no. 45 of 1959 (see section 3.2.1) by the University Amendment Act, Act no. 83 of 1983, Blacks could be admitted at White tertiary institutions (see Africa Watch 1991:74-75; Behr 1984:157-158, 1987:4, 1988:198). The Universities of Vista, Pretoria, Witwatersrand,

Rhodes, Cape Town, Western Cape and Rand Afrikaanse University

subsequently introduced programmes for upgrading the qualifications of Black teachers (Hartshorne 1992:271; Vos & Brits 1990:107ff).

The salaries of Black teachers were increased: In 1980, the beginning salary for a Black teacher male at a M+4 level (that is, matric with a four-year teachers diploma/degree) was R5 064 while for a male White teacher with similar qualifications was R6 504 per annum. The starting salary of a female Black teacher at a M+4 level was R4 224 and for a White teacher it was R5 544 per annum (Hartshorne 1992:288ff). By 1989/90 teacher salaries “were pretty well at parity” although gender still made a difference (Beckett 1990:117). The service benefits of Black teachers, regarding leave conditions, including maternity and study leave, housing subsidies, et cetera, were also gradually brought in line with those of other teachers from the other racial groups.

Improvement in in-service teacher training and education: More in-service teacher training centres were opened, especially in the Transvaal (see Hartshorne 1992:267ff; Hofmeyr & Jaff 1992:175ff; Vos & Brits 1990:105-106). Black teachers participated eagerly: “More than 50 [percent] of the total black teaching corps [were] involved in an in-service training course

to upgrade their academic and professional qualifications formally or informally” (Goodey 1988:18).

Improvement in teacher:pupil ratio: The improved supply of teachers ~~helped~~ improve the teacher:pupil ratio. From 1975 to 1989/90, the teacher:pupil ratio improved from 1:54 (see section 3.2.3.1) to 1:43 (Mncwabe 1993:24), a figure which was, however, still very high. In some rural areas, like KwaZulu, the ratio still remained as high as 1:50 (see Goodey 1988:17; Mncwabe 1993:24, 74ff).

Provision of physical and educational resources: Extensive school building programmes were undertaken, and, in the late 1980s, more than “fifteen classrooms per working day [were] completed ...” (Goodey 1988:18). There was also significant improvement in the supply of educational resources (Goodey 1988:19; Mncwabe 1993:6).

Improved pupil enrolments: From 1978 - 1989/90, the percentage of children of school going age attending school increased. This was the result of the provision of more classrooms (Christie 1985:108ff; Goodey 1988:17-18; Mncwabe 1993:25). The number of drop-outs was also slightly reduced, with the number of Black pupils reaching matric slightly increasing (Christie 1985:109).

Nevertheless, despite the “massive state intervention in black schooling in the form of real and substantial injections of finance”, the reforms did not bring the political struggle of teachers and pupils to an end (Levin 1991:1). In fact, the political struggle in education appeared to have worsened, especially in secondary education, and this was, of course, reflected in Black matriculation pass rates. The 1989 and 1990 Black matriculation pass rates were far below 50 percent (in 1989 it was 42 percent, the worst since the start of the educational reforms in 1983) (Beckett 1990:133; Hofmeyr & Buckland 1992:29; Levin 1991:1; Mncwabe 1993:39).

The poor matriculation results, the tangible evidence of a breakdown in the culture of learning and teaching, was ascribable to the following: First, the hatred that apartheid engendered. This hatred erupted in violent protests (see Badat 1998:14ff; Levin 1991:1-2; section 3.3). The slogans used put liberation before education, and the end result was tragic, a complete breakdown among Blacks in the culture of learning and teaching (Levin 1991:1-2). The state sought restoration of such a culture via various reforms in the 1980s, but these reforms were still executed within the hated apartheid structures. Thus, in practice, the reforms did not re-establish the culture of learning and teaching among Blacks.

In theory, there was progress in state policy for Black education during the 1980s, but

apart from the continued existence of the hated apartheid structures, the following problems were also not overcome:

- * the financial backlog;
- * the shortage of well qualified teachers;
- * the backlog in classrooms; and
- * the shortage of books and other resources. (See Claassen 1995:456; Goodey 1988:18; Mncwabe 1990:19ff, 1993:80ff; Vos & Brits 1990:57-58.)

3.5 CONCLUSION

During the era of apartheid, the state used state schools to further its political goal of racial segregation, but, Blacks, unlike the Afrikaners during the pre- and Union era, could not opt out of the system because of the poverty that was rife in the Black population. Caught in a system from which they could not escape, they reacted with violence and the inevitable, and tragic, result was the breakdown in the culture of learning and teaching that had previously existed among Blacks prior to 1948 (see section 2.2.2.2(c)).

After 1976, and especially during the 1980s, the state did try to address the breakdown in Black education, but did this within the apartheid structures. Such

hatred had, however, built up among pupils, students, teachers and parents against apartheid that the reforms had little effect. Blacks wanted desegregation and the abolition of apartheid laws, such as the pass laws, separate entrances or amenities, exclusion from various amenities and professions, ban on mixed marriages, et cetera, that racially structured all aspects of life in South Africa. In terms of these laws they were branded as inferior to Whites, and they, therefore, understandably wanted the end of the apartheid system, and integration on all levels of society, including education.

The important lesson to be learnt from the tragedies of the apartheid era is that the state should never try to entrench its ruling ideology via the state school system. Children belong to their parents, not to the ruling political party, and state schools belong to the tax payers, in particular, parents, and not the ruling party. It was the National Party's zeal to entrench their ideology, despite violent resistance, that led to a complete breakdown in the culture of learning and teaching in Black education.

On 2 February 1990, the then President of South Africa, FW de Klerk announced, in his opening address to parliament, the un-banning of the ANC, PAC, SACP and other liberation organisations, and the release from prison of Nelson Mandela. He also announced the launching of negotiations to establish an inclusive, non-racial democratic South Africa (Danzinger 1991:102; Davenport 1991:445; Lawrance

1994:7-8; Van Zyl 1997:82). Subsequently, on 11 February 1990, Nelson Mandela, the leader of the ANC, was released from prison, and South Africa entered the era of transition to democracy. In the next chapter education during this period will be discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STATE'S ROLE IN EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD (1990-1994)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

On February 2, 1990, the then National Party leader and President of South Africa, FW De Klerk, announced the end of apartheid and the un-banning of anti-apartheid

liberation organisations. A new political dispensation in South Africa was to be negotiated (Landman 1992:23-24; Mncwabe 1993:87; Muller 1992:10). The period of transition, that is, the preparation for the new dispensation, lasted till 1994 when the first democratic election took place and the new era of majority Black rule in South Africa was ushered in. This chapter discusses the culture of learning and teaching during this period of political transition.

Besides the further improvement in funding of Black education that started in the 1980s (see section 3.4.2), and the integration of Black learners in White schools, few changes took place during the transitional era. This chapter is, thus, necessarily

very brief. The chaos of the 'education struggle' that had started in 1976 continued (see Hartshorne 1992:320ff; Hofmeyr & Buckland 1992:28ff; Levin 1991:117; Moll 1991:198ff; Samuel 1990:21ff). Black pupils were still expressing their dissatisfaction violently, but since this, and its causes, have been discussed in chapter three, only a very brief discussion will be undertaken in this chapter. Focus will be on the improvement in the financing, infrastructure and educational resources of Black education and changes in the school admission policies. The general policy of education during the era of transition and the government's process of transforming education in South Africa will first be clarified.

4.2 SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION POLICY DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

From 1990 to 1994, the National Party was, in practice, still constituted the South African government. The Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, Act no. 110 of 1983, remained law during this period. Black education remained, therefore, a General Affair, controlled by the Department of Education and Training (see section 3.4; Vos & Brits 1990:62).

However, the then President FW De Klerk's speech in February 1990 had promised South Africans that "racism with its inherent discrimination [would] be eliminated from all facets of society, including education" (Landman 1992:23-24). In line herewith, Dr Stoffel Van Der Merwe, the then Minister of Education and Development Aid, said: "[T]he Government was prepared to negotiate a single ministry of education for the new South Africa" (Mncwabe 1993:87).

Negotiations for the creation of a non-discriminatory system of education, which would hopefully lead to the re-establishment of a culture of learning and teaching, started together with the negotiations for a new political dispensation. The National Party (NP), the African National Congress (ANC), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Democratic Party (DP) were the main role-players in these negotiations.

Of the negotiating parties, the ANC, which had the most support among Blacks and was recognised as their voice, had the major say for future policies. With regard to education, the following decisions were made:

- * There should be a single central department of education and it would have authority over provincial education departments.
- * Educational funding should not be made discriminatively on a racial basis.
- * Adequate teachers should be trained and appointed in Non-White schools, especially Black schools.
- * Adequate classrooms should be built.
- * There should be equal provision of resources, including books and teaching/learning aids.
- * There should be parity as regard per capita expenditure.
- * Admission should be open in all schools for all racial groups in South Africa
- * Active parental involvement in education was essential. (Landman 1992:23-24; Muller 1992:10.)

These decisions could, for administrative reasons, not be immediately implemented. However, certain improvements were immediately implemented, for example, funding. There was, however, no concomitant reinstatement of a culture of learning and

teaching. The improvement in funding will first be discussed and, thereafter, the continued political activity of Black students and teachers and the continued demise in teaching and learning.

4.3 EDUCATIONAL REFORM DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

4.3.1 Improvement of educational funding

The financing of Black education in South Africa could not immediately be brought up to par with White education. There simply were not enough state funds. The budget for education in general was, however, substantially improved during the transitional period and a large portion went to the upliftment of Black education (see Deacon & Parker 1998:136; Mncwabe 1993:86ff). For example, in the 1990/91 financial year approximately 22 percent of the South African state budget was allocated to education (Deacon & Parker 1998:136). More than 34 percent (of the original 22 percent) was spent on Black education (Mncwabe 1993:86). In addition to the large budget allocation, the government also channelled substantial amounts from

other sources, for example, government trust funds and funds allocated to the office of the President, to address the backlogs in Black education. During the 1990/91 and 1991/92 financial years, the state made a total of over four billion rands available to assist in the upliftment of Black education (Mncwabe 1993:86ff). Thus, the gap between per capita expenditure on Black and White pupils narrowed. In 1990/91 the ratio was about 1:3.8, compared to about 1:5 for 1989/90.

The extra funding was used to improve school buildings, the supply of educational resources and the quality of teachers. The latter was in the form of in-service training courses. These improvements are briefly discussed in the following sections.

4.3.2 The expansion and improvement of school buildings

During 1990 to 1994, the state via the Department of Education and Training built additional schools and additional classrooms in existing schools throughout the country, including the homelands (namely, Gazankulu, Lebowa, Qwa-qwa, KwaNdebele, Kangwane and KwaZulu) and the former TBVC states (namely, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei). School facilities were also improved in that laboratories, administration blocks and home economic and woodwork centres were built (see Mncwabe 1993:88-89). The state bore the brunt of the cost, but it did receive financial help from business corporations such as Old Mutual, Anglo-American

and other companies (Fine 2002:7).

However, the backlog in the number was so large and the physical state of Black schools so poor that the funds, though much improved, were simply not enough. There was a significant increase in Black pupil enrolments (especially the lower grades) during the transitional period, which was the result of ‘back-to-school’ campaigns (see Badat 1998:12; Mncwabe 1993:39,90; Steyn 1998:184ff). Thus, many Black schools, especially in rural areas, remained overcrowded and pupils were still taught under trees, in shacks, mud huts, old church buildings and old and abandoned buses (Heese & Badenhorst 1992:vii-viii; Makgatho 2002:4; Mncwabe 1993:100ff; Mgiba 2001:5). In the cities, overcrowding of Black schools was alleviated by the open admission policy introduced in White schools. This was, however, not without problems.

4.3.3 Integration of Black learners in White schools

On January 11, 1990, Dr Stoffel Van Der Merwe, the then Minister of Education and Development Aid, announced that White state schools could be opened to all race groups as from January 1, 1991, subject to the vote of White parents (Badat 1998:11; Mncwabe 1993:105ff). The state stipulated that “a majority of about 90 percent of parents [was] needed to vote in favour of the opening of a school” (Mncwabe

1993:109). White parents were given four options with regard to their

schools, and these options were:

- * Model A : This option meant that the school would become a private school and the parents/school governing body would have to either hire or buy the school buildings and facilities from the government. Over a period of three years, the state would phase in a 45 percent subsidy for operating expenses. School fees would range from R 2 250,00 to R 4 500,00 per child per year for the effective functioning of the school.
- * Model B: This option meant that the school would remain a state school, but would be allowed to determine its own admission policy, subject to the school maintaining more than 50 percent White learners.
- * Model C: This option meant that the school would become a state-aided school (that is, independent yet enjoying a high state grant). The school facilities would be transferred free of charge to the governing body of the school. The governing body would manage the school's funds, appoint or dismiss staff, and be responsible for the maintenance and extension of school buildings. The state would subsidize 75 percent of the school's operating expenses, which would cover teachers'

salaries within the salary scales prescribed by the state. Costs to parents would be about R900 per child per year, which in most cases represented a rise in fees.

* Model D: This school remained fully under state control. (See Badat 1998:11; Fataar 1998:70ff; Hofmeyr & Buckland 1992:37; Mncwabe 1993:114-115.)

The vast majority of White schools opted for Model C, a few schools opted for models A and B while only very few maintained the status quo, that is, opted for Model D. Most Black schools opted for Model D (Badat 1998:11).

The government's announcement (and stipulations) for the opening up of White schools to all racial groups was met with mixed reactions, ranging from acceptance to total rejection. The National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) was an example of a body that welcomed the opening up of schools, but at the same time indicated that the "potential barrier of parents' vote set by the government [that is, 90 percent majority] was unacceptable" (Mncwabe 1993:109). The NECC also maintained that it was "unacceptable for a minority of white parents to veto a decision by a community to open its school to pupils of other races" (Mncwabe 1993:115). The then Democratic Party spokesman on Education and Culture, Roger Burrows, indicated that about 66 percent majority would have been more appropriate. He

justified the figure of 66 percent by pointing out that it was purely an interim measure and it should be sufficient to placate White fears (Mncwabe 1993:116). Nevertheless, the government maintained the 90 percent parental vote, and the open admission process got underway in January 1991. In the same year (1991), the apartheid era's ban on home schooling was lifted.

The 90 per cent majority was met in most White State schools and, thus, most White schools became Model C schools. Nevertheless, very few Black learners actually gained admission to these schools, and the reasons were as follows: First, White schools feared overcrowding, and, thus, would only admit Black pupils if the school was not full. Second, strict admission criteria were used to maintain high educational standards. White parents and teachers were determined to protect the culture of learning and teaching that existed in White schools. Prospective pupils, therefore, had to undergo screening tests, which included mastery in mathematics and English. Most Black pupils could not pass the tests. Third, many Black parents could not afford the high school fees at White schools. (See Badat 1998:11; Bot 1992:68; Lorgat 1999:1; Mncwabe 1993:132ff; The National Education Policy Investigation 1993:158.)

The Black children that gained admission to Model C schools were mainly from the Black middle class. The majority of Black children continued to attend the poor quality, Black Model D, state schools and there were still many Black children, about

2 million, who did not attend school at all (Badat 1998:11; Lorgat 1999:1; Mncwabe 1993:132ff; The National Education Policy Investigation 1993:158). By 1993, only about 60, 000 Black students (6.6 % of the total number of Black children attending school) had been enrolled at Model C schools. These schools actually had classroom space for more pupils (Fataar 1998:72) but, for the reasons given above, only a limited number of Black pupils were admitted.

Commenting on the few Black children who enrolled in Model C schools, Badat (1998:11) says:

Concomitant with the self-governing and self-financing ethos of the Model C schools were large increases in school fees, effectively putting such schools beyond the reach of the majority of black students. When these ~~facts~~ [were] put together with the historical pattern of residential areas under apartheid, circumstances were created which indicated that the only immediate beneficiary of the deracialisation of schooling was the small, emerging black middle class. Thus, integration of Black learners in White schools did not benefit many Black pupils, and it did little to re-establish a culture of learning and teaching among Black pupils and teachers (Badat 1998:11). This is further discussed in section 4.4

4.3.4 The supply of educational resources

Although free education for Blacks was not introduced during the transitional period, the transitional government did supply Black state schools (that is, Model D schools) with learner resource materials such as textbooks, stationery and other teaching and learning aids that had not been previously supplied. Where necessary, schools were also supplied with chairs, tables, desks and laboratory equipment. Companies, such as Shell South Africa, helped the state by sponsoring the supply of teaching aids (for example, posters, maps, guides, et cetera). Other companies and organisations, such as The Institute of Race Relations, The South African Council of Churches, Anglo-American and De Beers offered bursaries to secondary and tertiary students (City Press Learning Press, 08/08/ 1999:1).

During the transitional period, the involvement of Black parents in their children's education also improved. This is the topic of the next section.

4.3.5 Parental involvement

Black parents, as explained in section 3.4.1, had contributed to the breakdown in Black education by regarding political liberation as of more importance than their children's education. However, after 1990, many Black parents participated in back-to-school campaigns urging children to return to classes and learn (see Badat 1998:12;

Chinkanda 1994:191; Krige 1995:78-79; Levin 1991:117; Mncwabe 1993:39, 90; Steyn 1998:184ff). The improvement in Black parental involvement in their children's education was only slight, but it, like the state's improved financing, was a step in the right direction.

Yet, despite the increased financial support by the state and back-to-school campaigns, Black teachers and students continued with protest actions. The protest actions of students are discussed first.

4.4 PROTEST ACTIONS IN BLACK SCHOOLS DURING THE ERA OF TRANSITION

4.4.1 Student protest actions

Since 1976, chaos had reigned in most Black schools, and there was no easy solution. Black youth had been successfully radicalised. Disruptive behaviour aimed at the state

had become and continued to be an essential feature of student lives after 1990. The following are examples of their behaviour:

- * Irregular attendance at schools and a general disregard for punctuality;
- * Frequent disruptions of the academic programme, through class boycotts and industrial actions;
- * Cheating, irregularities and fraud during matriculation examinations, with a resultant loss of integrity in the results;
- * Anti-social behaviour, which included theft, drug abuse, violence and vandalism of property;
- * Mass action demanding free education;
- * Abduction, rape and sexual harassment of learners by other learners; and
- * Gang activities. (See Benghiat 2001:1; Claassen 1995:456ff; Financial Mail, 27/08/1993:1; Hartshorne 1992:320ff; Hofmeyr & Buckland 1992:29; Levin 1991:117; Meerkotter 1998:51ff; 1992:1-2; Report on Provincial school support programme 1998:16-17; SABC TV News, 26/08/1993; Samuel 1990:21ff; The Citizen, 09/10/1991:1-2; The National Education Conference 1992:1-2; The Star, 27/08/1993:1; Vos & Brits 1990:55ff.)

No culture of learning existed among the Black youth, and most Black youths lacked the necessary motivation, interest and determination to succeed in their school work

(The National Education Conference 1992:1-2). Thus, despite calls and campaigns, supported by leading educational and political figures (including Nelson Mandela), for a return to school, schooling in townships was a “fragile and vulnerable plant that [needed] constant and sensitive nurturing in a hostile and unrewarding environment. Lack of effective supervision of what was going on inside the schools [and within the classrooms] was to contribute to a further deterioration of the learning environment ...” (Hartshorne 1992:321).

Black youths’ anti-social behaviour and lack of commitment and discipline were regarded by the government, political leaders and parents as both symptoms and causes of the collapse in the culture of learning and teaching. Black teachers’ conduct was, too, like the behaviour of students, both a symptom and a cause of the breakdown in learning and teaching.

4.4.2 Teachers’ protest actions

Black teachers were from the beginning involved in the political struggle against apartheid (see sections 3.2.8 and 3.3). However, instead of the struggle ceasing after the end of apartheid was announced, the teachers became even more explicit in their demands and protests (Johnson 1991:180). During the period of transition teachers with “exceptionally heightened militancy” (Moll 1991:199), called for the immediate

improvement of the appalling conditions at Black schools as well as the creation of a single, non-racial Education Department (Hartshorne 1992:11).

Such demands were made in the months immediately after FW De Klerk's speech and the release of Nelson Mandela. The demands were made throughout South Africa via extended mass actions, which included the following:

- * In March 1990, the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) organised a four-week chalk-down strike by over 6 000 Black teachers in the Johannesburg area and throughout the former Transvaal (Levin 1991:127-128; Moll 1991:200).
- * In June 24, 1990, the National Teachers' Unity Forum (NTUF) "organised a successful nationwide [sit-in] of teachers across all education departments ... to protest against the education crisis ..." (Moll 1991:199).
- * Mass demonstrations and rallies were organised to coincide with Nelson Mandela's release, during which thousands of teachers in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and other parts of the country "dumped their official lesson record books at the front door of the [Department of Education and Training] regional offices" (Hartshorne 1992:320).
- * Teachers refused to comply with departmental regulations such as "the filling in of leave forms when teachers were absent from school in protest marches"

(Hartshorne 1992:321).

- * In many areas, such as Johannesburg, Black teachers refused “to allow principals, subject advisors and inspectors access to their classes for the purposes of supervision” (Hartshorne 1992:321).

In fact, mass action became a way of life of Black teachers, especially after the many small teachers’ organisations, such as the African Teachers’ Association of South Africa (ATASA), United Teachers’ Association of South Africa (UTASA), Western Cape Teachers’ Union (WCTU), Progressive Teachers’ Union (PTU) and The Democratic Teachers’ Union (DETU), amalgamated to form one union, the South African Democratic Teachers’ Union (SADTU), in October 1990 (see Hartshorne 1992:322; Moll 1991:185ff). SADTU was formed to act as “a professional teacher body that encouraged the teaching of pupils in the classroom” (Hartshorne 1992:322), but, instead, it encouraged protest actions. Even the launch of SADTU “took place against the backdrop of chalk-down, strikes and other mass action” (Moll 1991:199-200). After the launch, SADTU members throughout the country embarked on various forms of mass action to protest against poor working conditions, poor conditions of service and apartheid injustices in general (see Hartshorne 1992:322ff; Heese & Badenhorst 1992:vii-viii; Lorgat 1999:3; The National Education Policy Investigation 1993:237).

Black leaders and parents called for going back to school. They “felt that a boycott of the academic programme and teaching was an inappropriate response” to the state at the time (Levin 1991:138). However, SADTU, against the advice of Black leaders, continued to take teachers out of the classroom to participate in various forms of mass action. During this period (1990-1994), Black teachers’ poor work performance was generally characterised by the following:

- * Lack of adequate lesson planning and preparation;
- * Inability to motivate learners to be committed to their studies;
- * Non-completion of syllabi;
- * Failure to give or giving insufficient written work; and
- * Absenteeism and late arrival at schools. (See Claassen 1995:456ff; Hartshorne 1992:320ff; Mbeki 1998:1; Meerkotter 1998:51ff; Report on Provincial school support programme 1998:16-17; The National Education Conference 1992:1-2; Vos & Brits 1990:55ff.)

The state at that time (1990-1994) was in a condition of flux, and, therefore, also in a state of little power, and as history shows, revolutionary political change is always heralded in with a period of chaos. Chaos had reign in Black education since 1976, and maintenance of order and control were beyond the state at the end of the

apartheid era. Furthermore, as Hartshorne (1992:13) explains, it is “not possible to do everything at once, to transform all the structures, processes and people in the system at one go, particularly when there are competing pressures for limited resources”. Thus, the chaos continued.

Black students were the ones to suffer. Few Black learners had intact years of schooling from 1990 to 1994, and there were thousands of schools throughout the country in which no real teaching and thus no learning took place during that time. In the same year, 1990, the pass rate of Black matriculation dropped from 48.8 % in 1989 to 36.2 %, and the percentage of Black matriculation exemption dropped from 10.2 % to 7.8 % (Hartshorne 1992:339). During the time of transition, there was a Black matriculation failure rate of at least 50 percent and of those that passed matric less than 16 percent obtained matriculation exemption (see Claassen 1995:456ff; Meerkotter 1998:51ff; Report on Provincial school support programme 1998:16-17; the National Education Conference 1992:1-2; Vos & Brits 1990:55ff.). Thus, after 1994, the challenge to reinstate a culture of learning and teaching among learners and teachers remained.

4.5 CONCLUSION

During the period of transition important decisions for the future democratic era were

made. These decisions could, understandably, for administrative reasons, not be immediately implemented. However, there were improvements that were immediately implemented, for example, funding (see section 4.3.2) and changes in the admission policies (see section 4.3.3). However, there was, during this period, no concomitant reinstatement of a culture of learning and teaching. This was mainly as a result of the continued political activity, instead of learning and teaching, of Black students and teachers (see section 4.4), which started in 1976 (see section 3.3). Instead, a culture of learning and teaching which was already poor, continued to decline in Black schools.

Albeit, a culture of learning and teaching could not be reinstated, the transitional government had, however, paved a way for political transformation and the creation of one education system for all races in South Africa. In April 1994, a democratic government, led by the ANC, was ushered in. The role of the post-1994 government in education, and the question whether it has succeeded in the re-establishment of a culture of learning and teaching will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE STATE'S ROLE IN FORMAL SCHOOL EDUCATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA (1994 - 2004)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

On 27 April, 1994, the first democratic election in South Africa was won by the ANC. The new South African state, led by the ANC, was faced with many problems, in particular, in education. There was no culture of learning and teaching in Black schools. As the then Deputy Minister of National Education, Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, pointed out: “[M]ost schools, especially in Black areas, were poorly resourced, inefficiently managed and generally dysfunctional. In brief, there was no culture of learning, teaching and service” (Mkhathshwa in Sowetan, 14/01/2000:1).

This chapter looks at how the post-1994 South African state has addressed educational

problems. The extent to which a culture of learning and teaching has been re-established and upheld is the focus in this chapter.

5.2 SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION POLICY SINCE 1994

As part of the process of re-establishing a culture of learning and teaching among Blacks, the ANC government introduced certain innovations and reforms which were aimed at transforming education in South Africa. Among the first things that were done was the appointment of a Committee on Teacher Education Policy (COTEP) in 1995.

5.2.1 The Committee on Teacher Education Policy (COTEP) document (1995)

In 1995, the working document of the Committee on Teacher Education Policy (COTEP) was released. The COTEP document prescribed norms and standards for teacher education in South Africa. The document's aim was "to set minimum standards for the education of teachers in South Africa while creating mechanisms which will ensure the continued pursuit of excellence" (COTEP 1995:5). The document contained the guidelines according to which each teacher education institution was to develop its own education curriculum (see COTEP 1996: iii, 13ff).

It prescribed the how and the what of teacher training programmes (see COTEP 1996:13ff). All teacher training programmes were to be submitted to COTEP for approval, before recognition by the newly established South African Qualification Authority (SAQA) and the National Qualifications Framework (NQF).

The Department of Education (1998:8) promoted the COTEP document as a means of providing a large measure of academic and professional autonomy in teacher education. In fact, however, the COTEP document provided academic and professional autonomy to teacher institutions. Such institutions could design their curricula, but only *within* state prescribed norms and standards. Furthermore, programmes were subject to state approval. The COTEP (1995) document acts, thus, as an instrument of state control over teacher training institutions. The state rationale is, however, not control but quality assurance within a shift from the old content-based approach to teacher training towards a process-orientated, competence based approach (COTEP 1996:1).

This new approach was in line with the whole curriculum shift to outcomes-based education, that was announced in 1997. Before coming to this, attention shall first be given to the White Paper, released in 1995.

5.2.2 The White Paper on Education and Training (1995)

In 1995, the then Minister of Education, Sibusiso Bhengu, released a White Paper on Education and Training, which, inter alia, called for inclusive education, both with regard to race and to learners with special needs, and officially introduced the mechanism which would be used to facilitate such integration, namely the NQF (see Department of Education 1996:19; Section 2, White Paper on Education and Training 1995).

The White Paper on Education and Training also referred to outcomes-based education. It called for life-long learning “ across traditional divisions of skills and knowledge, with standards defined in terms of learning outcomes and appropriate practices” (Section 9, White Paper on Education and Training 1995:26). Academic, occupational and professional requirements would no longer be stated in terms of the input, that is, the content, or the time taken. Instead, the emphasis would be on the acquisition of applied competencies which would be described as the envisaged outcomes (Department of Education 1997:51). The White Paper on Education and Training, thus, paved the way for the introduction and implementation of outcomes-based education in South Africa (see section 5.2.5).

The White Paper on Education and Training also promised the following:

- * free basic education for all South African;
- * compulsory education from the age of seven until the age of fifteen or the ninth grade, whichever occurs first;
- * open admission of learners to public schools;
- * active parental involvement and say in education; and
- * the restoration of effective and proper schooling.

These promises were subsequently legally sanctioned in the South African Schools Act of 1996.

5.2.3 The South African Schools Act (SASA), Act no. 84 of 1996

The South African Schools Act (SASA) prescribed a uniform system of organization, governance and funding of state schools throughout the Republic of South Africa. Provision was also made for the establishment by parents of independent, private schools.

SASA addresses a number of issues, and the following are relevant to the establishment of a culture of learning and teaching:

5.2.3.1 Open admission of learners to public schools

SASA stipulates that all public schools are required by law to admit learners and serve their educational requirements without unfairly discriminating in any way (Section 5 (1) SASA, 1996). The school governing body may also not administer admission tests nor direct or authorize the principal of the school or any other person to administer such tests. Thus, the admission tests used during the era of transition were abolished (see section 4.3.3).

5.2.3.2 Compulsory and free education

The Act stipulated that education was compulsory from the age of seven until the age of fifteen or the ninth grade, whichever occurred first. Subject to SASA, “every parent must cause every learner for whom he or she is responsible to attend a school” (Section 3(1), SASA 1996), and “any parent who, without just cause and after a written notice from the Head of Department, fails to comply with sub-section (1), is guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months” (Section 3(6), SASA 1996).

Despite these clauses in the SASA, Steyn (1998:189) points out that compulsory schooling cannot be rigorously enforced due to lack of resources. School attendance by Black children, consequently, continues to be a problem. By 2004 the situation had

improved, but only slightly, and the level of absenteeism remained high (see Ahmed in Daily Sun, 03/06/2004:1; Makgatho in Sowetan, 08/06/2004:6; Ramothata in Daily Sun, 03/06/2004:4; Thulo in Daily Sun, 08/06/2004:4). Furthermore, many learners have, over the years, continued to drop out, even before grade 9 or age 15 (see Jansen in Sunday Times, 04/01/2004:15; Lorgat 2002:1,3; Mboyane in City Press, 27/02/2001:1; Monare in Sowetan, 31/12/2003:1; Mseleku in City Press, 04/01/2004:1). The Act, however, stands, and with improved resources and control structures, compulsory schooling will, it is hoped, become reality.

Free education, too, is not yet a reality. Parents are liable to pay the school fees (Section 40(1), SASA 1996). However, no learner may be refused admission to a public school on the grounds that his or her parent is unable to pay or has not paid the school fees (Section 5(3), SASA 1996). Parents who cannot afford school fees can apply for exemption from the school governing body, and such exemption must be given to needy parents.

Due to budgetary constraints, the state at present, only provides basic resources, such as books and a small grant towards school development and maintenance. Parents remain liable for the payment of school fees, basic services (water, electricity, et cetera) and the development of school infrastructure (Sections 20, 21, 39, 40-41, SASA 1996). The failure of the state to provide truly free education sparked protests

from learners, led by the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) (Mecoamere in Sowetan, 11/01/2000:1). Mecoamere (Sowetan, 2000:1) justifies the state's failure to provide truly free education by maintaining that South Africa cannot afford it at present.

5.2.3.3 Parental involvement and say in education

SASA vests parents, through the school governing bodies (SGBs), with the governance of public schools (Section 16(1), SASA 1996). The SGB must promote the best interest of the school and ensure that quality education is provided. Sections 20 and 21 of the SASA set out the precise functions of the SGBs. The professional management of the school is, however, the duty of the school principal under the authority of the Provincial Head of the Department of Education (Section 16(3), SASA 1996).

SASA, thus, provided for the active involvement of parents in the education of their children. The actualisation of this provision, during 1994 to 2004, is discussed in section 5.4.2.

5.2.3.4 Independent and home schools

SASA stipulates the following Article concerning independent and home schools: Subject to this Act and any applicable provincial law, any person may, at his or her own cost, establish and maintain an independent school. However, the following conditions apply:

- * independent and home schools should be registered by the Head of Provincial Department, and that the registration may only be made if the Head of Department is satisfied that:
 - the standards will not be inferior in comparable public schools;
 - the admission policy should not be discriminatory and complies with the national admission policy;
 - the registration (of home school) will be in the interest of the child; and
 - the Head of the Department may stipulate any other conditions for registration that he/she deems fit.
- * The Head of Department may withdraw the registration of independent and home schools. (See Sections 46, 47 and 51, SASA 1996.)

SASA's conditions are questioned by various educationists, journalists and parents. The critics maintain that high academic standards have always been maintained in independent and home schools in South Africa (see Durham 1996:77ff; Mona in City Press Plus 1, 03/10/1999:13; Naude 2002:54; Van Oostrum 1996:20-21). In fact, as

Behr (1997:52ff), Malan (1998:40-41), Scheepers (1996:4-5), Swift (1999:7) and Van Oostrum (1996:20) point out, South African parents send their children to private schools or establish home schools because of their disappointment and frustration with the apparent decline in the quality of state education.

Furthermore, children belong to parents and *not* to the state. Therefore, parents, and *not* the state, should act and decide “in the interest of their children ...” (Durham 1996:77). Durham (1996:77) maintains that it is morally wrong for the state to decide if the independent and/or home schooling “is in the interest of the learner” (as in Section 51(2bi), SASA 1996).

SASA’s restriction on independent and home schools seems, thus, to point to excessive state control. The case Doreen Harris, parent of Talya Harris, a pre-primary learner at King David private primary school, *versus* the Department of Education is one such example (see Bertelsmann 2001; 29-33; Perkins 2001:35-37; Sachs 2001:19-27; Wielemans 2001:39-44): At the age of five, turning six, after three years of pre-primary education, Talya’s parents wanted to enrol her in grade one. This was contrary to the departmental admission policy which allowed enrolment in the year the child turned seven. Doreen Harris took the Department to the Constitutional Court of South Africa: the judgement handed down by Judge Albie Sachs was that “the Minister’s admission policy for independent schools was unconstitutional”

(Bertelsmann 2001:29) and was unfair and against the best interests of the child because the requirement allowed for no exemptions for children who did not reach seven during the year, even if they were “manifestly ready for school” (Sachs 2001:21). Consequently, after failed appeal, the Department of Education, in 2003, changed its grade one admission policy to what it had been prior to 1994, namely, that a child may enter grade one if he or she turns six by 30 June of that year.

Another example of excessive state control is the law imposing the state’s curriculum and process of assessment on private and home schools (The Education Laws Amendment Act, Act no. 50 of 2002). This will be discussed in section 5.2.6. In the next section, the language policy of 1997, which has also led to criticism and unhappiness among some parents, will be discussed.

5.2.4 The language policy (1997)

The language policy in education, published in 1997, prescribes the interpretation of Section 30 of the South African Constitution (1996) and Section 6 (2 and 3) of SASA (1996). The former stipulates that:

- * Everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner

inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights (Section 30, The Constitution of South Africa 1996).

The latter reads as follows:

- * The governing body of a public school may determine the language policy of the school subject to the Constitution, this Act and any applicable provincial law; and
- * No form of racial discrimination may be practised in implementing policy determined under this section (Section 6 (2&3), SASA 1996).

The state policy that flowed from the above is the following:

- * The language(s) of learning and teaching must be (an) official language(s);
- * Individuals may choose the language to be used for learning and teaching, but within the framework of the state education systems's duty to promote multilingualism;
- * If no school in a school district offers the chosen language as a medium of learning and teaching, the learner or parent may request the provincial education department to make provision for instruction in the chosen language at the nearest school;

- * Official languages should be offered as subjects, as follows:
 - # At least one language shall be offered in grades 1 and 2;
 - # From grade 3 onwards, the language of learning and teaching and at least one additional language shall be offered;
 - # All language subjects are to receive equitable time and resource allocation. (See Department of Education, 2001, Government Gazette 18546, 1997; SASA 1996; Northern Province Department of Education 1998; The Constitution of South Africa, Section 29(2).)

In Black schools, English is dominantly used as a language of learning and instruction from grade 3 to grade 12. In grades 1 and 2, mother-tongue instruction is used.

However, the policy created unhappiness in the Afrikaans community as it meant the demise of Afrikaans single-medium schools and universities (see Rademeyer in Beeld, 11/01/2004, 12/01/2004, 13/01/2004, 16/01/2004, 19/01/2004; Strauss in Beeld, 18/01/2004; The Citizen, 23/09/2003). While some schools welcomed the policy, some schools refused to implement it. The state has, however, been enforcing the implementation of the policy by sending and demanding that English-speaking learners be admitted and taught in English in those Afrikaans-medium schools (Rademeyer in Beeld, 12/01/2004, 12/01/2004). Schools which refused to admit these learners were investigated by the Department of Education with threats of tough steps being taken against them. The Afrikaans parents, via the SGBs, have been in constant court battles

with the state over the issue, with the courts ruling the state's action as unconstitutional and inappropriate (see Rademeyer in Beeld, 11/01/2004, 12/01/2004, 13/01/2004, 16/01/2004, 19/01/2004; Strauss in Beeld, 18/01/2004).

Despite the courts' rulings, the state has continued to impose the policy on Afrikaans schools. It has gone as far as "reconsidering subsidies to certain Afrikaans schools [and universities]" if they do not comply with the policy and admit large proportions of Black students (The Citizen, 23/09/2003). This has further angered certain Afrikaners who understand the state to have "a negative attitude ... towards Afrikaners" and to be employing "vindictiveness" against them, and "deliberately antagonising and alienating ... Afrikaners" as the minority group (The Citizen, 23/09/2003:1ff). Afrikaners have, thus, vowed to continue fighting the state in the courts of law over the language issue and the constitutional rights of Afrikaners and Afrikaans schools to preserve their culture and values (see Rademeyer in Beeld, 11/01/2004, 12/01/2004, 13/01/2004, 16/01/2004, 19/01/2004; Strauss in Beeld, 18/01/2004). The *Trust vir Afrikaanse Beheerliggame vir Onderwys en Kultuur* (TABOK) have subsequently come in support for the schools which seek to maintain single-medium (Afrikaans) status and promise to assist them towards getting justice from the courts of law (Rademeyer in Beeld, 11/01/2004).

The state's attempt to redress the past imbalances appears to have overstepped the

constitutional provision for the protection of the rights of all citizens (Sections 29, 30 and 31, The Constitution of South Africa, 1996). This conflict, it is hoped, will not lead to yet another *taalstryd* and its unfortunate repercussions (see section 2.2.5.1) and the state will allow the Afrikaners their appropriate constitutional freedom. As The Citizen (23/09/2003) pointed out, the Afrikaans schools' struggle to maintain single-medium (Afrikaans) status should be viewed in the light of the provisions of the South African Constitution only, and not as a claim merely to retain the privileges of the past (see Henrard 2000:12-13).

5.2.5 Outcomes-based education (OBE): Curriculum 2005 (1997) and the Revised National Curriculum Statement (2002)

The ANC is committed to nation building, and transformation of the school curriculum was embarked on with this aim in view (Coetzer 2001:73). Transformation of the curriculum was deemed necessary: "The apartheid curriculum that perpetuated divisions and emphasised separateness rather than common nationhood [had] to be replaced with [a curriculum] which reflects the values and principles of South Africa's new democratic society" (Schoeman & Manyane 2002:176).

The ANC government's aim was to design a curriculum which would be "well suited for the principles of inclusion and redress, and for being focused on learners who did

not receive adequate education and training in the previous (apartheid) era” (Constas in Coetzer, 2001:73-74), and it settled on OBE as instrument. Consequently, in March 24, 1997, the then Minister of National Education, Professor Sibusiso Bhengu, announced in Parliament the launch of Curriculum 2005 (C2005), which was the South African version of OBE. The new curriculum was to be implemented in state schools from January 1998 and was to be phased-in until grade 12 by 2005. The state’s intentions with C2005 were laudable, namely:

to transform education to be human-rights inspired, lively, activity-based, colourful and learner centred ... [W]ith the new outcomes-based curriculum [the intention was] combining rather than separating the acquisition by all learners of the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that reflected more closely life outside and after school (Coetzer 2001:75).

OBE purports to be completely different from traditional teaching, and for this purpose new terminology, with its own new meanings, is employed. Aims are called outcomes. Subjects are called learning areas, students or pupils are called learners, teachers are called educators or learning facilitators, and evaluation is called assessment. Completely new terms, such as range statement and performance criteria, are used. These latter terms were omitted when C2005 was revised in 2001 (see later paragraphs in this section).

In OBE, the emphasis is not on learners' mastery of prescribed subject matter, but on programmes of experience and growth. Formal instruction by the teacher is replaced with informal group activity sessions (Ludwigson 1995:286). Separate subject teaching is replaced with holistic projects that link up with life in the learner's community (Coetzer 2001:77). The aim is for active learners who acquire essential thinking skills and life skills by working cooperatively with others (Combrinck 2003:51-56). The teachers' (preferably called educators or learning facilitators) role is to design suitable activities and to assess learners' progress. Such assessment involves not only formal testing, but informal observation (Combrinck 2003:51-56; Department of Education 1997:6ff).

OBE is learner centred, not teacher-centred. The emphasis is not on the input, that is, the subject matter, but on the output, that is, the so-called outcomes (see Botha & Hite 2000:130; Coetzer 2001:75ff; Department of Education 1997:6-7; Mboyane in City Press, 27/02/2000:14). The outcomes verbalise that which learners must be capable of doing after engaging in the given learning activities. The outcomes do not verbalise specific subject content, but refer to the generic knowledge, skills and values and attitudes that are to be acquired. The aim is to stimulate critical thinking and to integrate reason and action by integrating knowledge with relevant, real-life situations (Botha & Hite 2000:130; Coetzer 2001:77ff; Department of Education 1997:6-7;

Mboyane in City Press, 27/02/2000:14).

In contrast to OBE and C2005, traditional teaching is caricatured as something in which the teacher talks and the learner sits silently and passively, and only rote learning occurs. It is said to be textbook bound, content based and teacher centred (Botha & Hite 2000:130; Coetzer 2001:75ff; Department of Education 1997:6-7; Mboyane in City Press, 27/02/2000:14). This type of teaching is said to have been characteristic of apartheid education (Mboyane in City Press, 27/02/2000:14).

Few people would disagree with the aims expressed in C2005 (see Department of Education 1997). Nevertheless, it is questionable whether the aims will nor can be achieved via outcomes-based education. Academics, such as Jansen (1997) and Vakalisa (2002:22), believe that South Africa, as a developing country, cannot successfully implement OBE. OBE requires independent research from learners, and therefore, a wealth of relevant resources, which is, however, expensive (Combrinck 2003:53; Jansen 1997). Furthermore, OBE requires suitably trained teachers, and therefore, major retraining of teachers is called for (Combrinck 2003:52) which is very costly.

With the announcement of the introduction of OBE and C2005, the Department of Education immediately proceeded with the re-training of teachers. A ‘cascading model’

was used, which implied that only a few teachers were initially re-trained. Those teachers, the so-called master trainees, were then to teach their colleagues. In South Africa, it happened, however, that not even the master trainees mastered OBE and the very difficult terminology in which C2005 was couched (see Botha & Hite 2000:132; Business Day, 2/8/2000:2; Chisholm 2000:iiiiff; Mboyane in City Press, 27/02/2000:14; Mecoamere in Sowetan education, 10/03/2000:4; Potenza 2002:28; Pretorius in Sunday Times, 04/06/2000:6; The report of the curriculum review committee 2001: 55; Tleane in Sowetan, 28/03/2000:11).

Furthermore, OBE as activity-based, calls for small classes. Black schools from the apartheid era had huge classes (see sections 3.2.5 and 3.4.2). If it is to be effective, research by learners, especially primary school learners, requires careful structuring and much guidance from the teacher, which is difficult in large classes. Without teacher guidance, children's research is often superficial and unsystematic (Eltgeest & Harlen 1990:3-4). On their own, learners do not "always make the discoveries they are supposed to make; in fact, they sometimes make 'discoveries' that are not true" (Hirsch 1996:250).

Historically Black schools simply did not have the necessary resources, such as books and computers, for research (Combrinck 2003:52; Vakalisa 2000:22). The materials that were available were "in short supply, of poor quality and [were delivered late] late

to some of the schools” (The Teacher 1999:6).

Many homes, too, have neither the necessary books nor Internet facilities (The Teacher 1999:6). Libraries were, furthermore, not always within easy reach of all learners. This was especially true of the poor provinces, such as the Limpopo Province and the Eastern Cape Province (see Bengu in Daily Sun, 30/01/2003:8; Jansen 1997; Mboyane in City Press, 27/02/2000:14; Tleane in Sowetan, 28/03/2000:11; Mahomed 2001:5; Pretorius 2002:8). In many homes, especially Black homes, there was also a lack of essential parental support for school learning, which is due to illiteracy, poverty and often simply neglect (Mahomed 2001:5).

In February 2000, only two years after its implementation, the effectiveness of Curriculum 2005 was questioned by the newly appointed Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal. Asmal admitted that C2005 did not meet the government’s expectations (Mboyane in City Press, 27/02/2000:14; Mecoamere in Sowetan Education, 10/03/2000:4). Subsequently, Asmal appointed a committee, headed by Professor Linda Chisholm of the University of Natal. The 11-member committee was, among other things, to examine steps to implement OBE successfully and effectively, develop strategies to streamline the implementation of C2005 and increase teachers’ level of understanding of OBE (Mboyane in City Press, 27/02/2000:14; Mecoamere in Sowetan Education, 10/03/2000:4; Potenza 2002:28; Pretorius in Sunday Times,

04/06/2000:6; Tleane in Sowetan, 28/03/2000:11).

Before considering the review committee's recommendations, the problems with C2005 that the Committee and others identified, will be scrutinised.

The first problem with C2005 was the terminology. The "obtuse and impenetrable" terminology (referred to in a previous paragraph in this section) confused teachers. (See Botha & Hite 2000:132; Business Day, 2/8/2000:2; Chisholm 2000:iiiiff; Mboyane in City Press, 27/02/2000:14; Mecoamere in Sowetan education, 10/03/2000:4; Potenza 2002:28; Pretorius in Sunday Times, 04/06/2000:6; The report of the curriculum review committee 2001: 55; Tleane in Sowetan, 28/03/2000:11.)

The second problem with C2005 was the fact that OBE is non-prescriptive with regard to subject content and, furthermore, calls for integrative teaching, that is, all subjects/learning areas are integrated in each learning activity/project. In OBE teachers are called on to develop their own learning programmes and materials . South African primary school teachers are, however, neither trained as subject specialists nor as curriculum developers. They struggled therefore to cope without a prescribed syllabus and a concomitant textbook (Chisholm 2000:iv; Coetzer 2001:86; Pretorius in Sunday Times, 04/06/2000:6; The curriculum review committee 2001: 55-56; The Teacher 2000:19).

The third problem with C2005 was that teachers received little support from departmental officials on the implementation of the new curriculum. Whilst there was preparatory training of teachers, it was insufficient. Furthermore, there was no training for district and school managers. Without appropriate training the latter group could not support and supervise teachers as they should (see Business Day, 2/8/2000:2; The curriculum review committee 2001: 55).

The fourth problem with C2005 was the fact that many schools throughout South Africa did not have research-resources that were necessary in OBE (Vakalisa 2000:22; The curriculum review committee 2001: 55).

The fifth and last problem to be identified is that the outcomes prescribed in C2005 were not grade-specific, but the same for all the grades. Thus, the outcomes did not specify specific grade-appropriate subject content, but revolved around the development of higher-order thinking skills (for example, critical thinking and problem-solving) and the shaping of attitudes and values. The absence of grade-specific subject content is serious. First, teachers struggled to choose appropriate subject content (Coetzer 2001:78; Pretorius in Sunday Times, 04/06/2000:6; The curriculum review committee 2001:54-55). Second, such absence was in fact a denigration of knowledge and ultimately, a defeat of the ideal of stimulating problem-solving and independent critical thinking. As Hirsch (1996:247) points out: “Independent-mindedness is always predicated on relevant knowledge: one cannot think critically unless one has a lot of

knowledge of the issue at hand. Critical thinking is not merely giving one's opinion". In fact, "common sense tells one that the person who can think critically and who can solve problems is, *without exception*, one who has sufficient knowledge of the relevant issue or problem" (Horn 2004:5).

As the above discussion shows, OBE is not without problems, especially when implemented in South Africa. Nevertheless, Chisholm (2000:6ff), the chairperson of the review committee, maintains that the failure of C2005 was not the failure of OBE per se, and that the specific problems encountered in South Africa, can, if properly addressed, be solved. Consequently, the committee recommended that OBE be retained, but that C2005 be revised. This was subsequently done, and in 2002 the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) was published.

The RNCS was couched in simpler terminology and grade-appropriate outcomes which delineated subject content were included. The terms and the content of the content of the twelve critical outcomes - the overall broad, generic outcomes - were retained. The term *specific outcome* was replaced with *learning outcome*. These outcomes in a specific learning area were generic, that is, applicable to all grades from grade R to 9. The terms *assessment criteria*, *range statement* and *phase and programme organisers* were replaced with one term *assessment standard*. The assessment standards are not generic, but delineate specific minimum knowledge

and/or skills to be demonstrated in a specific learning area in a specific grade. The maximum number of assessment standards per learning area per grade is seven. These assessment standards do not comprise detailed syllabi. A detailed syllabus, now called a knowledge focus, is only given in the social sciences (history and geography) learning area. (See Department of Education 2002; Potenza 2002:28; Pretorius in Sunday Times, 04/06/2000:6; Read Right, 05/08/2001:4; The curriculum review committee 2001: 57-58.)

As in the old C2005, in the RNCS all the learning areas, including life orientation, may smack of social engineering. It is debatable whether the state is acting on the limits of establishing and upholding a culture of learning and teaching when it prescribes certain values and a certain attitude to life as conditions for attaining a school certificate.

The RNCS was to be phased in from January 2004, starting with the foundation phase, that is grade R to 3. By 2008, it is expected to have been phased in to grade 9. Within this period, on-going training of teachers and development of learning support materials based on the RNCS, would be made (Mahomed 2001:5; Potenza 2001:4).

In an attempt to improve the functionality of schools and re-establish a culture of learning and teaching, the state published a policy of quality assurance in 2001.

5.2.6 The policy on quality assurance: Whole School Evaluation (WSE)

and Developmental Appraisal System (DAS)

The Whole School Evaluation (WSE) policy focuses on the assessment and improvement of the whole school. The aim of the policy is to "establish whether schools have created a conducive learning environment, and to get a clear understanding of the environment at the school as a whole" (Mecoamere in Sowetan Education, 19/07/2002:1). The WSE policy requires the following commitment from role players in education (see Department of Education 2001:3ff; Government Gazette no. 22512, 2001; Mecoamere in Sowetan Education, 19/07/2002:1.):

- * School Governing Bodies (SGBs) should:
 - accept responsibility for school improvement;
 - participate in setting targets for school improvement plans;
 - accept joint accountability and help with the smooth running of the school;
 - encourage active parental involvement in the education of their children.
- * Principals should:
 - be strong leaders and managers;
 - facilitate communication in schools and with school communities;
 - ensure school effectiveness and educator professionalism;
 - recognise and comment on good teaching; and
 - promote school safety, security and discipline.

* Educators should:

- provide quality teaching and guidance that meet the needs of individual learners and the aspirations of local communities and the country as a whole;
- plan lessons well;
- master the subjects they teach;
- manage classes well and create a good learning environment;
- apply assessment that will make teaching more effective;
- evaluate the success of their own lessons continuously; and
- help learners to achieve expected outcomes.

* Learners should:

- working hard and meet high academic standards; and
- become life-long learners.

Whereas WSE focuses on the whole school, the Development Appraisal System (DAS) focuses on the individual teacher. It aims to identify each educator's needs in order to enhance their potential and improve public schooling in general (Naiker 2001:12). The appraisal system is a form of a teachers' skill audit strategy which evaluates the training needs of individual teachers. Addressing those needs will contribute to the professional development of teachers (Boyle & Mkhize in Sunday

Times, 01/08/2004:4; Mecoamere in Sowetan Education, 19/07/2002:1; Mecoamere in Sowetan, 02/08/2004:6).

The implementation of WSE and DAS was delayed till July 2004 since the Department of Education and teacher unions could not come to an agreement on how these programmes should be implemented. Classroom inspection seems to be the main bone of contention. The teacher unions regarded it as a “mere replica of apartheid-era school and classroom inspections that were divisive, demeaning and fault finding, rather than constructive or nurturing” (Mecoamere in Sowetan education, 19/07/2002:1; Mecoamere in Sowetan 02/08/2004:6). The Education Department, on the other hand, claims that inspection is aimed at teacher support and development.

Following the agreement between the Department of Education and teachers’ unions, in October, 2003, WSE and DAS are to run concurrently under the programme Integrated Quality Management Systems (IQMS). The programme also allows for the rewarding of top performing teachers through promotions, bonuses and salary increases (see Education Labour Relations Council, Resolution no. 8, 2003; Mecoamere in Sowetan 02/08/2004:6). The first round of IQMS is to run from July 1, 2004 to July 31, 2005, but the teachers’ unions indicated that the programme is “being implemented so late that it would be virtually impossible to complete a proper assessment by the July 2005 deadline” (Boyle & Mkhize in Sunday Times,

01/08/2004:4). Subsequently, some provinces, such as Limpopo, postponed the implementation to January 2005.

In the next section the state's imposition of its policies on independent and home schools is discussed.

5.2.7 The Education Laws Amendment Act, Act No. 50 of 2002

The significant, and questionable, aspect of the Education Laws Amendment Act, Act no. 50 of 2002 is its amendments to Section 61 of the SASA (see section 5.2.3) which involve the imposition of the state's curriculum and the state's process of assessment on independent schools, which, of course, also includes home schools. These amendments are as follows:

The Minister may make regulations -

- * to prescribe a national curriculum applicable to *public* and *independent schools*;
- * to prescribe a national process for the assessment of learner achievement in *public* and *independent schools*;
- * to prescribe a national process for the assessment, monitoring and evaluation for quality education in *public* and *independent schools*;

The state's move towards excessive control of *all* schools, even schools which are supposed to be independent, via the above mentioned amendments raises concerns for the following reasons:

First, the amendments appear to violate sections 30 and 31 of South Africa's Bill of Rights.

Second, the amendments appear to violate Sections 14 (freedom of thought, conscience and religion) and 15 (freedom of association) of the United Nations (UN)'s *Conventions on the Rights of the Child*, which was accepted by the UN in 1989 and ratified by the South African state on 16 June 1995.

Third, the amendments threaten the right of existence of South African minority groups. Continued existence of any culture is dependent on education and the right to establish and manage culturally distinct schools is, thus, essential for a minority group.

Thus, the Education Laws and Amendment Act, no. 50 of 2002, appears to be unconstitutional not only because Sections 30 and 31 of the Bill of Rights are violated, directly or indirectly, but because the state should create favourable circumstances for people to exercise their constitutional rights. Here too, as with its attempts to impose

multi-religious education (see section 5.2.8) the state “does not fulfil its constitutional duty to respect, protect, promote and fulfil the rights in the bill of rights” (Malherbe 2002:418). The Act, thus, looks set for testing in the court of law.

The culture and values, including those in education, of all South Africans should be respected. Their constitutional protection should be respected, also by the state, to ensure peace and harmony. The state should, in its role to provide education in general, and in the establishment of a culture of learning and teaching, in particular, respect the values of parents. This is the lesson that is taught by the *taalstryd* of the era of the Union (see section 2.2.5.1) and the segregated education of the apartheid era (see section 3.3). To avoid a repeat of such a crisis, the Education Laws Amendment Act requires revisitation.

In the next section, the state’s attempts to redress the inequalities of the past in the field of religious education shall be discussed.

5.2.8 National Policy on Religion in Education

Prior to 1994, only one religious faith was allowed to be taught in public schools in South Africa, namely Christianity. Christianity was taught as a non-examinable subject, religious education, and as a matriculation subject, biblical studies. Christian

observances, such as assembly prayer, hymn singing, bible reading and teaching, et cetera, were common practices in state schools.

After 1994, the state, committed to redressing *all* inequalities of the past, scrapped the privileged position that the Christian religion had held in the past. Religious education in state schools was, however, not a thing of the past. As pointed out by the then Deputy Minister of Education, Smangalis Mkhathshwa (1997:2), C2005 “recognises religion as an integral part of the human experience”. In the future religious education would be multi-religious education (Kruger 1997:46-47), where children learn *about* various religious truths.

State schools were no longer allowed to offer religious education as instruction in Christianity only (Die Hervormer 2003:3). Christian observances were, however, still held during assemblies. This was in terms of the SASA, (Section 7) that allows “observances [which] are conducted on an equitable basis and attendance at them by learners and members of staff is free and voluntary”.

The official introduction of multi-religious education was announced in 2003 in the National Policy on Religion in Education, approved by Parliament on August 4, 2003. This policy introduced *religion education* - non judgemental multi-religious education - as a compulsory, examinable part of life orientation (see section 5.2.5).

The National Policy on Religion in Education also addresses religious observances during the official school day. These are permitted, but the following conditions, *et al*, apply:

- * The multi-religious nature of South Africa must be accommodated and reflected (Section 61).
- * The various religions must each be given opportunities for observance, or readings from various texts must be done in observance, *or* a universal ~~prayer~~ must be used (Section 62).

The National Policy on Religion in Education is prescribed for state *and* independent schools. This is in terms of the Education Laws Amendment Act (see section 5.2.7).

The state's banning of religious instruction in a specific module of religion and its introduction of non-judgemental religious education was against the wishes of most parents. Prior to the policy publication in 2003, parents had objected to multi-religious education (see Durham 1996:76ff; Malherbe 2002:391ff; Naude-Moseley 2003; 64-65; Potgieter 2003:6; Steenkamp 2003:149ff; Swift 1999:7; Van Oostrum 1996:20-21). The 2003 policy attracted the further criticism that it was prescribed for state *and* independent schools.

The state's decision to compulsory teach and expose all learners to different religions appears to be morally unjustified. As Potgieter (2003:6) puts it, the government's policy concerning religious education and religion education can be interpreted a prelude to an official government controlled world image (a total control) taught to school children in which the value of religion in a family and/or community is totally ignored. Children, as stated in sections 2.2.5.1, 3.3 and 5.2.3, belong to their parents, not to the state, and parents should, thus, decide what is best for their children. Thus, it is morally wrong for the state to impose different religions on children against the wishes of their parents.

The UN's *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (which South Africa, as mentioned in section 5.2.7, ratified in 1995) gives parents the right to decide for the child till the child is old enough to decide for him/herself. Section 14(2) states that:

State Parties shall respect the rights and duties of parents ... to provide direction to the child in the exercise of his or her right [to freedom of thought, conscience and religion] in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child.

Furthermore, Section 18(4) of the UN's *International Treaty on Civic and Political Rights* states that:

In the exercise of any functions which it assumes in relation to education and to teaching, the State shall respect the rights of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religion and philosophical convictions.

Section 18(2) of the same UN's Convention reads that:

No person shall be subjected to coercion which would impair his freedom to have or adopt a religion or belief of his choice.

Sections 5(1) of UNESCO's *Convention against Discrimination in Education* also states that:

No person or group of persons should be compelled to receive religious instruction inconsistent with his or her conviction.

The state's policy on religion in schools, thus, questions its ratification of the UN's *Convention on the Rights of the Child* and section 15(2c) of the Constitution of South Africa (1996). The latter states that: Religious observances may be conducted at state or state-aided institutions, provided that attendance at them is free and voluntary. The

state's action is also questionable in terms of the above mentioned international agreements and treaty on issues of religion. Different religions should, thus, not be imposed on learners but should be free and voluntary. Parents and/or learners should be allowed freedom of choice. This freedom is, unfortunately, not provided for in the National Policy on Religion in Education. Consequently, the state's imposition on *all* schools of religion education and state-assessment thereof will, therefore, have to be tested in court.

The next section focuses on the state's role, and state projects, aimed at the re-establishment of a culture of learning and teaching from 1994 to 2004.

5.3 STATE'S PROJECTS TO ESTABLISH A CULTURE OF LEARNING AND TEACHING

5.3.1 The Culture of Learning , Teaching and Service (COLTS) project

On February 10, 1997, the state, under the auspices of the then President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, launched a campaign "to restore and construct the culture of learning and teaching in the entire education system" (Mkhatshwa in Sowetan education, 14/01/2000:1). This campaign became popularly known as the Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service (COLTS) and was launched under the slogan "Rea

Shoma Dikolong : We Are Working in Our Schools”. The following were the principles undergirding COLTS:

- * the provision of basic resources that are essential for effective teaching and learning;
- * the establishment of democratically elected, well-trained, effective and supportive school governing bodies;
- * the creation of safe schools without crime and violence; and
- * the instilling of discipline, dedication and motivation in learners, teachers, principals and education department officials. (See Mkhathshwa in Sowetan Education, 14/01/2000:1.)

The first principle of COLTS, namely the provision of basic resources, had received state attention prior to the launching of the COLTS - project. It, and the second principle, will be discussed in this section. The other two principles will be discussed in section 5.3.2.

5.3.1.1 The provision of basic educational resources

In order to address the inequalities of the past, state spending on historically Black schools increased dramatically. Between 1994 and 2000, the education budget

increased from R31.8 billion to R51.1 billion, making South Africa a world leader in countries attempting to provide education to all children (Lorgat 2002:7). The improved funding in historically Black schools was used, *et al*, to purchase much needed textbooks and stationery. During 1999/2000 alone, R627 million was allocated for books compared to R192 million for 1998/1999 (Mboyane in City Press, 30/12/2000:2). Despite the massive increase in governmental spending, schools still experienced a shortage of textbooks and stationery. The reasons are the following:

- * Most learners did not return the textbooks at the end of the year.
- * The textbooks and stationery delivered fell short of the actual enrolments.
- * Deliveries were late; in some areas they were delayed by more than six months.
- * Textbooks and stationery were simply never delivered. Reports have been made of books piled in departmental storerooms for years, instead of being delivered to schools.(See Deacon & Parker 1998:133; Mboyane in City Press, 09/01/2000:11; Misbach 2002:2.)

Extra funds were also allocated to build new schools and additional classrooms in existing schools. However, these were still too few due to budgetary constraints and the increase in learner population. Ten years after the first democratic elections, many schools, especially in rural and farm areas of Limpopo, Eastern and KwaZulu-Natal

provinces, still use mud structures, shacks, trees, old buses, et cetera, as classrooms, which, understandably, are not conducive to a culture of learning and teaching (see Motloun in Sowetan, 01/06/2004:8; Political Bureau in The Star, 01/06/2004:5; Reuters in The Star, 03/06/2004:6; Sefara in The Star, 11/06/2004:5). Many schools also still lack resources, such as libraries, computers, et cetera (Mabasa & Sapa in The Citizen, 08/06/2004:1-2; Mooki in Sowetan, 20/07/2004:5) and basic services, such as water, electricity and sanitary facilities. One ramification of this state of affairs is learners' "poor performance, non-attendance or regular absences" (Sefara in The Star, 11/06/2004:5). In the especially poor provinces, such as Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, some "learners travel more than 15 km to the nearest school in a single trip" (Makgatho in Sowetan, 15/06/2004:6).

5.3.1.2 State regulation of School Governing Bodies (SGBs)

Parental involvement in education was vested by the SASA in SGBs (see section 5.2.3). Section 16(1&2) in the SASA reads as follows:

Subject to this Act, the governance of every public school is vested in its governing body;

A governing body stands in a position of trust towards the school.

However, the practical problems of SGBs, especially in historically Blacks schools,

included the following:

- * illiteracy among Black parents, especially in rural and farm areas, and subsequent lack of knowledge on school matters - which include school policies;
- * lack of interest and commitment in school affairs resulting in lack of involvement in the school's affairs including the attendance of meetings; and
- * non-availability as parents have to be away to ensure that there is food on the family table. (See Ahmed in Daily Sun, 29/07/2004:4; HSRC 1991:43ff; ka Mahamba in Daily Sun, 02/08/2004:2; Lewis in Sowetan, 23/07/2004:5; Mamaila in Sowetan, 23/09/1999:4; Makgatho in Sowetan, 18/01/2002:4; Mpye in Sowetan, 06/08/1999:2; Nhlapo in The Star, 11/06/2004:1; Pretorius in Sunday Times, 09/09/2001:15; Sapa in The Citizen, 08/06/2004:4.)

Consequently, many SGBs executive committee comprise principals and teachers, who also ensure the smooth running of the school as well as the welfare of children. Thus, a lot of work is still needed to be done to ensure that SGBs maintain and discharge their responsibilities as well as assist in ensuring the maintenance of a culture of learning and teaching. The publication of a policy of quality assurance, outlined in the next paragraphs, was one of the state's attempts to address the above problems.

The other two principles of COLTS were restated in the Tirisano Project in 2000, and are discussed in the next section.

5.3.2 The Tirisano Project

In January 13, 2000, the then Minister of National Education, Kader Asmal, launched a mobilisation project in response to the continued absence of a culture of learning and teaching in the historically Black schools in South Africa. Professor Asmal indicated the most troubling features in education as being the “poor quality of learning, teaching and service; low teacher morale; poor school governance; lack of facilities and massive inequalities” (Department of Education 2000; Mecoamere in Sowetan Education, 14/01/2000:1). To address such problems, a project termed ‘Tirisano’, a Setswana word meaning ‘cooperation’ or ‘working together’, was launched, which Minister Asmal would self monitor. The motto of the Tirisano campaign was: “Working together to build a South African education and training system for the 21st century” (Mecoamere in Sowetan Education, 14/01/2000:1).

Tirisano was a nine action plan project with the following priorities:

- * creating effective education systems in every province as well as effective

cooperative governance among the provinces;

- * addressing adult illiteracy in the next five years by introducing and implementing effective adult basic education and training (ABET) programmes
- ;
- * turning schools into centres of community and cultural life;
- * improving schools' infrastructures and making them fit for human habitation;
- * ensuring active learning and the success of OBE;
- * improving the professional quality of the teaching force;
- * creating a vibrant further education and training system to equip the youth and adults to meet the social and economic needs of the 21st century;
- * implementing a rational and seamless higher education; and
- * addressing the HIV-Aids pandemic through the education and training system. (See Department of Education 2000; Mecoamere in Sowetan Education, 14/01/2000:1; Mohale in Sowetan, 07/01/2000:1.)

The following campaigns and/or programmes are part of the Tirisano project:

5.3.2.1 Building safe schools

Discipline was a problem in all state schools, both in historically Black and White schools. Violence and crime was rife (see section 5.4.1.2) Thus, as part of the Tirisano project, a campaign was launched aimed at building and promoting safety at schools.

It promotes working together, inter alia, against drugs, crime, sexual abuse, arson, corporal punishment, theft, trespassing, guns, dangerous weapons, homicide, assault and battery, children and women abuse, burglary, gangsterism, HIV and Aids and degradation of human rights (Department of Education 2000). Whether or not these evils have been rooted out is discussed in section 5.4.1.2

5.3.2.2 Recognition of excellent achievements

The programme of recognising excellent educational achievements was introduced so that the efforts of excellent teachers and schools may be publicly acknowledged (Department of Education 2002; The Teachers 2001:3). The awards are divided into different categories, which include all levels and phases of primary and secondary schools as well as different subjects offered. The awards are aimed at motivating teachers and schools towards working hard and meeting high academic standards (Pela 2000:11; Somniso in Sowetan education, 19/10/2001:2; The Teacher 2001:3).

5.3.2.3 Learner enrichment programmes

The Department of Education has also initiated various pupil enrichment programmes throughout the provinces. These range from winter schools to weekend classes. The media (that is, newspapers, radio and television) also run intensive support

programmes which are sponsored by government, business and religious groups. The enrichment programmes are aimed at improving the matriculation results as well as encourage a culture of learning in the country. Whether or not this aim has been achieved is discussed in section 5.4.1.

The above discussion revolved around the ANC government's attempts to transform education and reinstate a culture of learning and teaching. Such a culture has, however, not yet actualised itself due to certain problems, which are the next topic of discussion.

5.4 THE STATE OF LEARNING AND TEACHING IN STATE SCHOOLS (1994 - 2004)

5.4.1 The state of learning

5.4.1.1 Poor academic results

The state's injection of extra financing in historically Black schools (see section 5.3.1.1), uplifted many previously dysfunctional schools (Mkhatshwa in Sowetan Education, 14/01/2000:1). Unfortunately, the matriculation results of historically Black

schools remained poor, and pulled down the national pass rate (Rohan 2001:11). Between 1995 and 2000, the average national matriculation results dropped from 54% to 48.9%. The average percentage of learners who obtained matriculation exemption during those years was less than 16%. (See Liebenberg in *The Citizen*, 30/12/1999:2; Lorgat 1999:1; Mboyane in *City Press*, 30/12/2001:1; Misbach in *Sowetan*, 27/12/2001:1; Sapa in *Sowetan* 21/01/2000:3; Sefara in *Sowetan*, 18/08/1999:4.)

Addressing the KwaZulu-Natal provincial conference of the South African Teachers' Union (SADTU), on September 26, 1999, the former Minister of National Education, Kader Asmal, blamed the poor results on teachers' lack of commitment and professionalism: "Teachers' professionalism was at its lowest, and the general public did not believe that teachers [are] worth the money the government is paying them" (quoted in *Sowetan*, 31/12/1999:4; *The Citizen*, 13/08/1999:1). The following are the misdemeanours of which some teachers were guilty:

- * high rate of absenteeism;
- * laziness;
- * lack of discipline;
- * late coming;
- * bunking of classes;
- * failure to prepare well for classes;

- * failure to complete syllabi;
- * drug and alcohol abuse;
- * sexually abusing children; and
- * encouraging pupils to be engage in drug abuse. (See Bhengu in Sowetan, 03/09/1999:3; Heese & Badenhorst 1992:vii-viii; Lorgat 1999:3; Lubisi in Sunday Times City Metro, 08/08/1999:2; Mecoamere in Sowetan, 04/11/1999:3; Mtshali in Sunday Times, 12/05/2002:4; Rohan in Sowetan, 26/01/2000:11; Seremane in Sowetan, 26/01/ 2000:11; The Citizen, 25/08/1999:12; Zulu in City Press, 30/12/2001:1.)

In the light of the above, it is understandable that parents and other members of the community believe that teachers are not committed to their profession. “Parents in the townships and in the rural areas [do not] see teachers as caring for their (the parents’) children’s education, but only concerned about drawing salaries at the end of the month” (Mona in City Press Plus 1, 03/10/1999:13). The broad perception was that even “during the apartheid years teachers appeared to be dedicated to their craft. Now, almost at the drop of a hat, teachers are out on the streets protesting with marches or placards over their salaries and the dedication element appears to be slipping” (Rohan in Sowetan, 26/01/2000:11). The state, on the other hand, was regarded by parents as having “done much to meet the salary demands” of teachers, and parents, justifiably, wanted professionalism and a sense of duty to be shown by teachers

(Hlanganani in Sowetan, 27/07/1999:1, 05/08/1999:1).

It must be added here that not all teachers were guilty of shirking their duties. Many teachers were dedicated, despite the poor service from the Education Department. In addition to the delay or failure to supply books and other learning materials (see section 5.3.1.1), the state, via the Education Department, was also guilty of the following:

- * inadequate support and training of teachers;
- * weak control and supervision of schools;
- * poor managerial training of principals;
- * delay or failure to appoint school management personnel. Some schools were without a principal for up to two and half years;
- * poor working conditions at schools, for example, overcrowded and/or large classes;
- * still paying too little;
- * failure to curb violence in schools; and
- * failure to provide job security for teachers. Teachers were in fear of being retrenched or redeployed. (See Bhengu in Daily Sun, 30/01/2003:8; Boyle in Sunday Times, 08/08/2004:4; Chikanga in The Citizen, 25/08/1999:3; Liebenberg in The Citizen 30/12/1-2; Makgatho in City Press, 10/10/1999:4;

Mboyane in City Press, 09/01/2000:2; Mecoamere in Sowetan Education, 14/01/2000:1; Misbach in Sowetan, 23/01/2000:2; Momberg & Chikanga in The Citizen, 25/08/1999:1-2; Mtshali in Sunday Times, 12/05/2002:4; Mufunwaini in Daily Sun, 14/06/2004:2; Vally & Tleane in Sowetan, 18/08/1999:9; Seepe in City Press, 15/08/2004:6; The framework report 1993:237; Venter in The Citizen, 05/05/2004:7.)

Parents, too, contributed to the poor academic results. Although SASA provides for and the Tirisano project encouraged the active involvement of parents in the education of their children (see sections 5.2.3 and 5.3.3 respectively), many parents have not yet accepted that they are the primary educators and that they must support the school in the education of their children. It appears, in fact, that parents placed the following essential parental duties on teachers and, thus, on the state:

- * ensuring that their children attend school every day;
- * encouraging their children to work hard at school;
- * ensuring that that their children do homework;
- * disciplining their children; and
- * teaching their children respect and humility. (See Ahmed in Daily Sun, 29/07/2004:4; Human Sciences Research Council 1991:43ff; ka Mahamba in Daily Sun, 02/08/2004:2; Lewis in Sowetan, 23/09/2004:5; Mamaila in

Sowetan, 23/09/1999:4; Makgatho in Sowetan, 18/01/2002:4; Mpye in Sowetan, 06/08/1999:2; Pretorius in Sunday Times, 09/09/2001:15; Sapa in The Citizen, 08/06/2004:4; Venter in The Citizen, 06/08/2004:4.)

Many parents have abdicated their parental duties. Such parents fail to attend parents' meetings (Magabane 2001:15; Mamaila in Sowetan, 23/09/1999:4; Sapa in The Citizen, 08/06/2004:4), nor are they concerned with their children's school performance during the year, yet, "they expect good results at the end of the year" (Tleane in Sowetan, 13/01/2000:10).

Despite the collapse in discipline (see section 5.4.1.2) and the other factors described above, the matriculation pass rate has steadily increased from 48.9% in 1999 to 73.3% in 2003. The number of candidates who obtained matric exemption increased from less than 16% in 1999 to 18.6% in 2003. (See Fuphe in Sowetan, 08/03/2000:4; Liebenburg in The Citizen, 30/12/1999:1-2; Lorgat 2002:1; Mecoamere & Sapa in Sowetan, 28/12/1999:1; Misbach in Sowetan, 27/12/2001:1, 28/12/2002:2; Momberg in The Citizen, 31/12/2003:1-2; Pela 2000:2; Sunday Times, 29/12/2002:1.)

The improved matric results, especially the 2003 results, have been hailed by some political parties and teacher unions as the "turning of the tide - from hopelessness to hope for the future ..." in South African education (SABC News 30/12/2003; Daily

Sun 31/12/2003:4). Thulani Nxesi, the secretary general of SADTU, claims that the improved results show that “South Africa now has in place a truly national and credible examination system, almost completely free of irregularities” (Nxesi in Sunday Times, 11/01/2004:4).

If one considers the conditions in many schools - no discipline, few resources, et cetera, it is understandable that a prominent educationist, who was part of the struggle against apartheid, Jonathan Jansen, questions the “quality and credibility” of the matriculation examination. Jansen (Sunday Times, 04/01/2004:15) says that there is “a strong and growing perception that the standard of performance required in the matriculation examination is lower than before”. Jansen maintains that question papers have been made so easy that “it required a special effort to fail matric. ... it has become too easy to pass” (City Press 04/01/2004:1). He says that the “bar has been lowered” and [more] pupils have passed matric than ever before, but [more] pupils have passed poorly than ever before” (Jansen in SABC News, 30/12/2003). Consequently, many matriculants with exemption are not ready for university training, and “matriculants writing university admission exams [are] failing in droves” (Jansen in City Press, 04/01/2004:15).

Pityane, the Chairman of the Matriculation Board and principal of UNISA, also points out that about “50 percent of first year university students repeat their courses”

because they cannot cope with the demands of university education (City Press, 04/01/2004:4). The Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor, said that “a failure rate of close to 40 percent nationally at first year level [especially students from disadvantaged communities] ... [is] horrifying” and something that should be of “national concern” (quoted in City Press, 26/09/2004:6). A University of Cape Town study also found that “more and more first-year students [who achieved A and B aggregate in matric] were struggling academically” (Monare in Sunday Times, 04/01/2004:1).

The South African Chamber of Business (SACOB) also complains that many matriculants, are “unemployable” as they lack the necessary basic skills to enter the labour market. Many lack basic English skills and they cannot even complete an application form. Companies that employ these functionally illiterate matriculants should, thus, be prepared to invest massive funds to equip them with the most basic of educational skills before job-specific training or fully fledged higher education can start (James Lennox in E-TV News, 20/01/2004; Sikhakhane in City Press, 04/01/2004:18). The appalling fact, according to the business sector, is that fewer than 5% of matriculants are ready to be absorbed into the formal sector of the economy (Marshall in The Citizen, 30/12/2003). Nielsen’s study (see Sunday Times, 12/09/2004:1) indicates that of those who secure jobs, 75% are White matriculants and 18% Black matriculants - further highlighting a lack of a culture of learning and teaching in historically Black schools.

In these technological times it is also a matter of concern that more than two-thirds of matriculants failed mathematics in the higher grade and about 50% failed physical science in the higher grade. This “has consequences for the skills required to support a modern [technological] economy upon which depends jobs and a sustainable quality of life for the majority of the people” (Nxesi in Sowetan, 06/01/2004:11).

Jonathan Jansen (City Press, 04/01/2004:15) claims that various mechanisms and ‘short-cuts’ such as the following were being used by the state and state schools to present a favourable picture of the state of learning and teaching via the matriculation results -at the expense of high academic standards:

First, matriculation examination papers were deliberately made easy - that even grades seven and eight learners could pass with ease (Jansen in Sunday Times, 04/01/2004:15; Monare in Sunday Times, 04/01/2004:1).

Second, non-White matriculants whose first language is not Afrikaans or English automatically get 5% added to their marks in non-language subjects because they are considered to be “inadvertently disadvantaged” (Monare in Sunday Times, 11/01/2004:4). Despite the fact that a study conducted by Umalusi, the statutory body that monitors South African examinations, of the 2002 matric results had shown that

Black matriculants who wrote examination in a second language were not at all disadvantaged, the department still deemed the compensation of 5% necessary. Dr Nieman, a specialist in language teaching at UNISA, said that the “compensation system was wrong insofar as it encouraged laziness by students who knew they will be helped” (Nieman in Sunday Times, 11/01/2004:4). Monare (Sunday Times 11/01/2004:4) argues that if Black matriculants are to cope with the demands of tertiary study, they need to be proficient in the medium of instruction. A study conducted by Professor Christo Van Rensburg of the University of Pretoria, showed that the “English proficiency of 30 percent of Black first-year students was equivalent to that of Grade 7 pupils - and was affecting their performance” (Sunday Times 11/01/2004:4). Jansen (E-TV, 20/01/2004) pointed out that by awarding the 5% inflation the Department is doing all it can to make it very difficult to fail. The majority of learners who fail are further awarded free marks to be helped to reach the required “bench mark”.

Third, schools are under pressure to perform to an extent that they compel grade 12 learners take subjects on standard grade in order to reflect a higher overall school pass rate. This was confirmed by Peliwe Lolwana, Umalusi chief executive officer (see Daily Sun, 22/09/2004:8).

Fourth, learners who are perceived by teachers to be weak are “discouraged from

writing Matric because [schools] are under pressure from the department to improve their pass rates. This not only inflates the pass rate, but leads to a bottleneck which gets more difficult every year for the school system to handle” (Doman in *The Citizen*, 31/12/2003:4).

Fifth, Jansen (*Sunday Times*, 04/01/2004:15) believes that if the White pupils could be removed from the pooled results, the national averages would “look ... dismal”. Jansen bases his belief on the fact that the majority of Black learners actually hide behind the shadow of their White counterparts’ performance. The majority of schools that are still maintaining high academic standards, and, thus, performing the best in the matriculation examinations, are the independent and former model C schools (Jansen in *Sunday Times*, 04/01/2004:15). In these schools, there is still a culture of learning and teaching, but in historically Black schools such a culture has not been re-established.

Umalusi has, as a result, come under heavy criticism for failing to ensure the quality of examination papers and for its contribution to the inflation of the pass rate (E-TV magazine programme, 20/01/2004; Monare in *Sunday Times*, 04/01/2004). Umalusi has, subsequently, announced a probe into the standard of the matriculation examination (Monare in *Sunday Times*, 04/01/2004:1). Speaking during the release of Umalusi’s research findings, on Tuesday, 21 September 2004, the chief executive officer, Peliwe Lolwana, said that: “There is no one clear-cut answer to say that the

standard of education in South Africa has dropped or risen over the past 10 years” (quoted in Daily Sun, 22/09/2004:8). Lolwana (Daily Sun, 22/09/2004:8), however, admitted that “the council [Umalusi] felt that the [matriculation] exams were not challenging enough for the pupils”. This confirmed Jansen’s belief, explained earlier in this section, that the matriculation examinations were deliberately made easy.

In the next section, the breakdown in discipline in state schools, a factor that also caused a decline in a culture of learning and teaching, is discussed.

5.4.1.2 The breakdown in discipline: violence and crime in state schools

Before 1976, violence in schools was the exception to the rule. “... [p]arents could drop their kids at school without any worry, knowing that they would be safe for the duration of the school day” (Benghiat 2001:7). Unfortunately, that has changed drastically. After 1976, Black state schools, were plunged into violent political protests (see sections 3.3, 4.4 and 5.4.2.2). Sadly this transformed into violence and crime after 1994. The following are amongst the many cases that occur frequently in state schools:

- * sexual activity among learners and sexual abuse of learners by other learners and even by teachers and principals;

- * drug abuse;
- * injuries, even killings, amongst learners as a result of factions between student organizations (such as the Congress of South African Students and Pan African Student Organization) as well as learners shooting teachers and teachers killing other teachers;
- * assault of teachers (especially female teachers) by learners and by other teachers;
- * hostage-taking of teachers by learners in protest against payment of school fees and/or demanding refunds;
- * gang fighting, often resulting in injury and/or killing of innocent learners ~~and/or~~ teachers; and
- * theft and/or vandalism of school property. (See Ahmed in Daily Sun, 03/06/2004:1; Benghiat 2001:7; Bhengu & Sapa in Sowetan, 26/08/1999:1; Carter in The Citizen, 01/08/1999:7; City Press Learning Press, 01/08/1999:18; Hagen & Sapa in The Citizen, 04/09/1999:1-2; ka Mahamba in Daily Sun, 02/08/2004:2; Khangale in The Star, 02/07/2004:2; Kotlolo in Sowetan, 04/11/1999:3; Lorgat 1999:3; Mamaila in Sowetan, 16/09/1999:4; Mecoamere in Sowetan Education, 10/03/2000:1, Mecoamere in Sowetan, 13/01/2000:3; Moela in City Press Learning Press, 08/08/1999:1; Mohale in Sowetan, 24/05/2002:2; Molefe in Sowetan, 23/07/2004:5; Nare in Daily Sun, 08/06/2004:1; Ramothata in Daily Sun, 03/06/2004:4; Sapa in

Sowetan, 04/06/2004:3; Sapa in The Citizen, 13/11/1999:3; Sobuwa in Daily Sun, 09/06/2004:2; Thulo in Daily Sun, 10/06/2004:4.)

The state is blamed by parents, learners, teachers and religious leaders for failing to ensure a safe and secure teaching and learning environment. Policies, such as the banning of corporal punishment in schools (see Section 10, SASA 1996), is often named a possible cause of the collapse in discipline and respect (Beckmann, Conradie, Du Toit, Joubert, Meyer & Van Rooyen 2002b:4-5). According to Beckmann et al (2002b:4-5), the emphasis on *children's rights*, such as the right to protection from bodily harm and the right to receive basic education without fear or intimidation, is also named as a possible cause. Learners frequently misuse and/or misinterpret those right and do as they please, with teachers feeling helpless. Thereby, discipline is collapsing in schools as can be seen in the following:

- * high levels of absenteeism;
- * late coming;
- * neglect of school work;
- * laziness;
- * ill-discipline and ill-behaviour;
- * drug and alcohol abuse;
- * assaulting other learners and even teachers;

- * sexual abuse of other learners; and
- * criminal activities, such as theft and vandalism. (See Bhengu in Sowetan, 03/09/1999:3; Bhengu & Sapa in Sowetan, 26/08/1999:1; Heard in Sunday Times City Metro, 1999:2; Lorgat 1999:3; Makgatho in Sowetan, 08/06/2004:6; Mamaila in Sowetan, 16/09/1999:4; Mecoamere in Sowetan, 13/01/2000:3; Moela in City Press learning press, 12/09/1999:1; Mohale in Sowetan, 07/01/2000:1, Mtshali in Sunday Times, 12/05/2002:4; Mbete in Sunday World, 05/05/2000:6; Nare in Daily Sun, 08/06/2004:1; Sapa & Dhliwayo in The Citizen, 04/06/2004:1-2; Thulo in Daily Sun, 10/06/2004:4.)

The above factors also indicate that most parents have not yet accepted that they are primary educators and that they must support the school by disciplining their children at home, thus, leading to learners who display a lack of discipline at school. Parental support and discipline are lacking in many homes and, consequently, discipline is collapsing in schools, as can be seen in the above mentioned anti-social and/or criminal behaviour and activities.

The breakdown in discipline in state schools is a factor that makes the establishment of a culture of learning and teaching well-nigh impossible. A culture of violence has replaced a culture of learning and teaching, and this results in poor matriculation results

(see section 5.4.1.1).

5.4.2 The state of teaching

5.4.2.1 Low teacher morale

During the apartheid era and the period of transition, political protest took precedence over teaching (see section 3.3 and 4.4). Now, in the post-1994 era, low teacher morale is handicapping the re-establishment of a culture of teaching. Since 1994, the morale of state school teachers has steadily declined, and reported to be presently at the lowest ebb (see Anderson & Kyprianou in Steyn 2002:86; Bhengu in Daily Sun, Matshiqi in City Press, 26/09/2004:17; 30/01/2003:8; Moela in City Press, 08/08/1999:1). The low morale of teachers can be seen in the following:

- * high levels of absenteeism, due to stress related factors/problems;
- * unpunctuality (this could be, of course, be simply a matter of lack of self-discipline);

- * apathy and indifference to the work of teaching;
- * lack of cooperation in handling problems and exaggeration of difficulties encountered;
- * lack of confidence in their own capabilities;
- * high rate of skilled and experienced teachers who leave the profession to seek employment in other sectors; and
- * high rate of teachers who resign or take early retirement packages. Many would leave the profession if they were to secure employment in a different field. (See Anderson & Kyprianou in Steyn 2002:86; Bhengu in Sowetan, 01/09/1999:6; Moela in City Press, 08/08/1999:1; Sapa in Sowetan, 28/10/1999:5; Sapa in Daily Sun, 23/05/2003:5; Sefara in Sowetan, 10/05/1999:4.)

The following are identified by journalists and educationists as possible causes of the decline in teacher morale:

- * poor working conditions - large classes, high work loads, lack of resources, unreasonably long working hours, learner disciplinary problems, et cetera;
- * poor conditions of service - low salaries, unsatisfactory service conditions; curtailed promotional opportunities, failure to recognise/reward teachers' ~~quality~~ of work in concrete monetary terms, et cetera;

- * breakdown of discipline in schools - violence, crime and lack of safety in public schools (see section 5.4.1.2);
 - * lack of parental commitment (see section 5.4.1.2);
 - * poor management in schools; and
 - * very limited and sporadic, if any, in-service support from the Department. .
- (See Ahmed in Daily Sun, 29/07/2004:4; Bhengu in Daily Sun, 30/01/2003:8; Chikanga in The Citizen 25/08/1999:3; HSRC 1991:43ff; ka Mahamba in Daily Sun, 02/08/2004:2; Lewis in Sowetan, 23/07/2004:5; Mamaila in Sowetan, 23/09/1999:4; Makgatho in Sowetan, 18/01/2002:4; Moela in City Press, 08/08/1999:1; Mpye in Sowetan, 06/08/1999:2; Nhlapo in The Star, 11/06/2004:1; Pretorius in Sunday Times, 09/09/2001:15; Sapa in Sowetan 08/09/1999:3; Sapa in The Citizen, 08/06/2004:4; Steyn 2002:88-89, 258; Valley & Tleane 1999:9.)

Another cause of low teacher morale is the rationalization and redeployment of teachers. Since 1994, the government has been spending more than 90% of the education budget on teachers and/or administration salaries, leaving very little to be channelled into the building of schools and provision of educational resources (Naidu 2001:4). In an attempt to reduce salary expenditure, the ANC government has, since 1996, been implementing a process of rationalizing and redeploying teachers. Thousand of teachers have, as a result, been facing retrenchment (Sapa in Daily Sun,

23/05/ 2003:5; Sefara in Sowetan 17/08/1999:4). The job uncertainty has demoralised and demotivated many practising teachers (Steyn 2002:88-89, 258).

The above mentioned factors in schools are “antithetical to promoting teacher professionalism and morale” (Vally & Tleane 1999:9). They will have to be addressed quickly, if a culture of learning and teaching is to be re-established in South African schools.

5.4.2.2 The role of teacher unions

Since 1994, most teachers have joined either of the two powerful teacher unions, namely the South African Democratic Teachers’ Union (SADTU) and the National Professional Teachers’ Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA). The government was sympathetic to teachers joining a union. In fact, the government “helped them [teachers] to assert their rights, particularly labour rights, in a society that still believed teachers had to place emphasis on the service they were rendering more than on their financial rewards” (Mona in City Press, 13/10/1999:13). The state, furthermore, does not classify education as an essential service (as is the case with the Parliamentary, South African Police, defence and health services), and teachers have the right to protest over issues related to their conditions of service (see Botha 2000:93-94; Monama & Makunike in City Press, 01/08/1999:2; Rohan 2000:11; section 71(10) Labour Relations Act, 1995). Teachers have, thus, a right to strike, and that means

they have the right to stop teaching and disrupt learning at state schools.

Although one understands that teachers have a difficult job, especially when one considers the discussion in section 5.4.2.1, one still wonders whether such a right to strike is conducive to establishing a general culture of learning and teaching.

Over the years, teachers' unions have become very powerful. The capacity to close down schools through strikes and work stoppages, demonstrates such power. "Today, whether the general public likes it or not, teachers have gained power. They can strike or, as some euphemistically say, withdraw "their professional services" (Mona 1999:13).

Since 1994, SADTU, has frequently "taken teachers out of school to protest against [salaries, et cetera]" (Mdhlela in City Press, 16/01/2000:9). Since 1994, the pattern set after 1976 has continued. Consequently, many school days are lost in historically Black schools (Hlanganani in Sowetan, 27/07/1999:1; Sapa in The Citizen, 27/09/1999:1-2; Daily Sun, 15/09/2004:3; Sapa in Sowetan, 30/08/2001:2; Seepe in City Press, 15/09/2004:6).

Teacher strike protests occur even at a time when learners have an especial need for teacher guidance, namely, when they are preparing themselves for the matriculation

examinations. Even just the threat of a teacher strike is disruptive to learning: “The simple insinuation of a strike is itself destabilising and demotivating at a time when no learner can afford such feeling”, and regrettably, the examination results suffer as a result (Mecoamere in Sowetan, 17/08/2001:3).

The government’s attempts to stop teacher strikes and threats of strikes by implementing a ‘no work, no pay’ policy, has had, till now, little effect in minimising strikes (see Boyle in Sunday Times, 29/08/2004:4; Daily Sun, 17/09/2004:1; Mecoamere in Sowetan, 04/11/1999:3; Mkhize in Sunday Times, 05/09/2004:1; Sapa in Sowetan, 30/08/2001:2), and learning and teaching continue to be disrupted. The right of teachers to strike in South Africa is not a mere theoretical principle. It is an art that is exercised in practice. It was exercised during the apartheid era and is still exercised even though democracy and Black majority rule have been ushered in.

Commenting on teachers’ right to strike, the then Minister of National Education, Kader Asmal, indicated his concern that the right of teachers to strike is not weighed up against teachers’ “moral imperative driven by a commitment to quality teaching” (quoted in Rohan 2000:11). In other words, in exercising their rights to strike, teachers were not supposed to infringe on the learners’ rights to decent and quality education (see Sapa in Sowetan, 30/08/2001:2). Their service to and for the welfare of the children is unprecedented. Regrettably, it appears that teachers are not aware that they

perform an essential service (Mecoamere in Sowetan, 04/11/1999:3; Sapa in Sowetan, 30/08/2001:2). Instead, in the interest of “protecting and expanding the rights of their members, teachers’ organisations and unions have in the recent past ridden roughshod over the needs and rights of the client group - that is, children and parents” and this is “what bugs the government and indeed parents” (Mona in City Press Plus, 13/10/1999:13).

Teacher unions, thus, use their power not to “improve teacher education, to give teachers a greater say in their professional affairs ... [and], to improve the professional services available to the public” (Mona in City Press Plus, 13/10/1999:13), but to disrupt learning and teaching. The actions of teacher unions have, thus, been seen, or at least partially, to contribute to further decline in a culture of learning and teaching in state schools.

The seriousness of the situation has led to appeals from political parties, organisations and concerned individuals for the government to abolish the right for teachers to strike, and subsequently classify education as an essential service (Boyle in Sunday Times, 29/08/2004:4; Hlanganani in Sowetan, 27/07/1999:1; Monama & Makunike in City Press, 01/08/1999: 2; Seepe in City Press, 15/09/2004:6). This would also assist in the restoration of a culture of learning and teaching. We remain hopeful that, for the sake of the South African child’s quality education, the government and the teacher unions

will urgently and meaningfully address this challenge. The very nobility of the teachers' responsibilities and the status of the teaching profession hinge on how this challenge is addressed.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The state, under the rule of the ANC government, has made some strides towards transforming and improving the provision of school education for Blacks in South Africa. Blacks can now go to the school of their choice and become part of the culture of learning and teaching that has always existed in historically White schools. State schools, especially historically Black schools, are, however, suffering from problems such as a breakdown in discipline, deteriorating teacher morale, and matriculation results whose credibility is doubted by educationists, journalists and business (see sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2). These problems have contributed to a continued lack and/or decline in a culture of learning and teaching in state schools.

Furthermore, the state has overstepped its boundaries by prescriptions, such as Education Amendment Act (2002) and the National Policy on Religion in Education (2003) (see sections 5.2.7 and 5.2.8), which undermine the autonomy of private and home schools as well the responsibility and accountability of parents in the education of their children. This has the potential of friction between the state, on the one hand, and parents and/or religious or cultural groups, on the other.

Having scrutinised the role of the state, the manner and extent of *state* control during the four exemplars (see section 1.5.3), and the state's subsequent contribution, or lack thereof, to the establishment of *a culture of learning and teaching*, as defined in section 1.3, the final conclusions and recommendations which could, hopefully, improve the present problematic situation in South African education will be presented in the next, and final chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The historical review on the role of the state in the establishment of *a culture of learning and teaching*, as defined in section 1.3.2, in the four chosen exemplars (see

section 1.5.3) in the preceding chapters revealed that it was relatively beneficial during the period of the Union (see sections 2.2.1.1 and 2.2.1.2), but, especially Black education, has been in crisis since 1976 (see sections 3.3, 4.4 and 5.4). Subsequently, the quality of Black education in state schools has been poor due to frequent disruptions in the schools' academic programmes. The historical review revealed that it was the extent of state control and the manner of state control that contributed to either the establishment and promotion or the decline in a culture of learning and teaching.

This chapter focuses on two issues. Firstly, a brief summary will be given on the extent of state control and the manner of state control, and how that contributed, or failed to contribute, to a culture of learning and teaching in state schools from 1910 to 2004. Secondly, recommendations/guidelines which will, hopefully, promote a culture of learning and teaching at public schools in South Africa, will also be given.

6.2 THE FACTORS THAT AFFECTED THE CULTURE OF LEARNING AND TEACHING IN STATE FORMAL SCHOOL EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA (1910-2004)

The historical review showed that there are a number of factors, linked to the extent and manner of state control on education, which have, in all four exemplars,

contributed to either the promotion or decline of a culture of learning and teaching in state schools.

Schooling proceeds smoothly when the state's policies are accepted by the parents. This was evident during the period of the Union (see section 2.2.2). Popular politics, thus, contributed to the establishment of a culture of learning and teaching. However, in all four exemplars, conflict arose when the state attempted to use schools to further its political goals. Such attempts were evident during the period of the Union (see section 2.5.2.1) and the era of apartheid (see sections 3.2.8 and 3.3) and also now in the democratic era (see sections 5.2.3.4, 5.2.4, 5.2.7 and 5.2.8). In the past, unpopular policies incited the anger of parents, students, teachers and the community and resulted in either the opting out of state school system to alternative private schools (see section 2.5.2.1) and/or violent actions in the struggle to achieve what the people wanted, as in the apartheid era and, subsequently, the era of transition (see sections 3.3 and 4.4). The latter option resulted, inevitably, in a total collapse in the culture of learning and teaching.

During the post-1994 era, the state has also overstepped its boundaries and attempted to exercise excessive control on independent schools, that is, private and home schools, via policies, such as the Education Amendment Act (2002) and the National Policy on Religion in Education (2003) (see sections 5.2.7 and 5.2.8). These policies

undermine the autonomy of private and home schools as well the responsibility and accountability of parents in the education of their children, and, understandably, create anger and dissatisfaction. Independent schools' autonomy and future existence have been threatened. Independent schools should be an alternative to state schools, and not subject to state prescriptions, that go beyond ensuring high academic standards (Durham 1996:77ff; Mona in City Press Plus 1, 03/10/1999:13; Naude-Mosley 2002:54; Van Oostrum 1996:20-21).

The purpose of history is, as indicated in section 1.5.1, to learn from the past so that disastrous mistakes may not be repeated. The following recommendations issue forth from the exemplars studied in this thesis. These recommendations will, hopefully, lead to further critical reflection on the present problematic situation in South African education and thereby contribute to the establishment and continual upholding of a culture of learning and teaching.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The state has an obligation to provide basic education to all South African children (Section 29, The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996), and, thus, to ensure the establishment and maintenance of a culture of learning and teaching in state schools. The recommendations given in this section are focused on the role of the

state. However, successful school education is a joint responsibility, involving various role players, all with a common interest in both the educational welfare of children and the country's economic development and sustainability. These role players are: the state, teachers, parents, learners and the business community. All role players in education should be actively involved in attempts to restore and maintain quality education in public schools, and not leave the responsibility of providing education as well as the re-establishment of a culture of learning and teaching to the state alone. If the ideal of joint responsibility is cherished, a culture of learning and teaching can be striven for. However, in the light of human fallibility and other constraints, such as financial constraints and the lack of adequate resources, it can never be perfectly achieved.

Thus, the following recommendations/guidelines are presented as ideas that will hopefully promote the restoration, maintenance and promotion, albeit imperfectly, of a culture of learning and teaching at public primary and secondary school in South African.

6.3.1 The recognition of education as an essential service: amendment of section 71(10) of the Labour Relations Act, Act No. 66 of 1995

The historical review revealed that since the late 1970s, Black schools in South Africa

have experienced frequent and serious disruptions to the academic programmes. These were the result of mass actions, strikes, chalk-downs and other forms of class boycotts by teachers and/or learners (see sections 3.3, 4.4 and 5.4.2.2). Although the 1976 school revolts were initiated by learners, teachers (teacher unions) have since been in the forefront in these stay-aways (see section 3.2.8). This was further evident during the transition era (see section 4.4.2) and the democratic era (see section 5.4.2.2). Any disagreement between the government and teacher unions, with regard to teachers' conditions of service (including salaries), resulted in teachers engaging in some forms of class boycotts. The unions frequently removed teachers from classes to attend meetings, mass demonstrations and other union related matters (see section 5.4.2.2).

The culture of mass actions, protests and striking by teacher unions was further strengthened by the provision of the Labour Relations Act, Act no. 66 of 1995. According to Section 71 (10) of the Act, education, unlike Parliamentary, police, defence and health services, is not classified as essential service. Subsequently, teachers are allowed to go on strike as one of the ways of expressing their disagreement or discontent with the government around labour issues, such as salaries. Teachers have, in accordance with the Act, frequently been engaged in mass actions and class boycotts (see section 5.4.2.2). While exercising their right to strike, teachers failed to consider the learners' right to basic education (see Section 29, The Constitution of the Republic of South African, 1996). Consequently, the culture of

learning and teaching continued to be eroded, and, therefore, the quality of education, including the matriculation results (see section 5.4.1.1). Despite the call by educationists, political leaders and parents for the scrapping of the teachers' right to strike (see section 5.4.2.2), no steps have yet been taken regarding this provision of the Labour Relations Act.

The incidents described in sections 5.4.1.1 and 5.4.2.2 as well as the decline in the culture of learning and teaching in public schools, lead one to conclude that, teacher stay-aways contribute significantly to the decline in the quality of education. In other words, the granting of the right to strike to teachers contributes to further disintegration in public school education.

Education service is, in essence, as essential as health, police and defence services. The breakdown in the quality of education affects the country's entire skill base - including the provision of skilled and well-qualified personnel in health, police and defence departments. If the present crisis in the matriculation pass rate (see section 5.4.1.1) is not urgently addressed, in four to seven years' time - anticipating university dropouts, failures and non-starters - the country will have a pool of only a few hundred successful black graduates from which to choose its doctors, actuaries, scientists, dentists, architects and engineers. The classification of education as an essential service is, therefore, essential for the promotion and realisation of a culture of learning and teaching.

It is, therefore, recommended that Section 71 (10) of the Labour Relations Act, Act no. 66 of 1995, be amended, and that:

- * Education be classified as an essential service.
- * Teachers should be regarded as providers of an essential service, and not allowed to strike.
- * The state and teachers should maintain sound relations which will facilitate the latter's fulfilment of their professional obligations and responsibilities (see section 6.3.2).

Such an amendment will protect schools from disruptions in their academic programmes caused by teachers. The amendment of Section 71 (10) of the Labour Relations Act, will ensure that teachers are always available to teach the learners, and, thus, by restoring the culture of teaching, also restore the culture of learning.

Banning teacher strikes appears to be necessary, but the promotion of a sound relationship between teachers, via their unions, and the state is as necessary and, in fact, the prerequisite for ending teachers' desire to strike.

6.3.2 Promotion of a sound relationship between teacher unions and the

state

The historical review revealed that teacher unions, such as the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), have frequently clashed and disagreed with government on teachers' working conditions and service benefits, particularly on teacher salaries and teacher rationalization (see sections 5.4.2.1 and 5.4.2.2). Subsequently, the teacher unions organised mass actions, chalk-downs, go-slows sit-ins and other forms of protests and stay-aways by teachers disrupting the schools' academic programmes. This was evident during the transitional era (see section 4.4.2) as well as the democratic era (see section 5.4.2.2). The frequent clashes between the teacher unions and the state indicate that mutual trust and support (rather than hostility, coercion and confrontation) between teachers and the state are essential for the restoration, establishment and maintenance of a culture of learning and teaching in public schools.

To promote a sound relationship between teacher unions and the state, both role players should adhere to certain obligations:

On the part of the teacher unions, the following is recommended:

Teacher unions should re-define their roles.

Instead of focusing on resistance, revolt and coercion - through mass actions, stay-aways, chalk-downs, go-slows, et cetera, the teacher unions should, as part of their campaigns for better salaries and other demands (see sections 4.4.2 and 5.4.2.2), focus on the building and promotion of education and the development and empowering of teachers. The unions should pursue the following objectives:

- * the academic and professional development of teachers by organizing seminars, in-service education, and other teacher development programmes;
- * advising the state on appropriate INSET and other teacher education and development programmes;
- * infrastructure and basic resources improvement through fund raising projects;
- * encouraging active involvement of Black parents in education (see section 6.3.3);
- * encouraging learners and learner organizations to develop positive attitudes to school and to learning (see section 6.3.4); and
- * campaigns for safety and security in institutions of learning (see section 6.3.5).

Re-establishment of the status and integrity of the teaching profession.

Teachers, particularly in historically Blacks schools, need to reverse the negative image of them held by parents and the community as a results of teacher strikes (see sections 5.4.2.2) and to re-establish the status and integrity of the teaching profession. They should ‘go-back-to-teaching’ in its true sense. Their commitment, dedication, care, hard work and overall professionalism should become evident to all. The commitment of both White and Black teachers during the period of the Union (see sections 2.2.2.1(c) and 2.2.2.2 (c)) is an example that can be emulated in this era.

Instil discipline among the teacher union membership

Sadly, some teachers are not committed to decent behaviour and professionalism. Conduct that includes neglect of duties, laziness, persistent late coming, absence without leave, drug and alcohol abuse, sexual abuse of learners and/or other teachers (see sections 5.4.1.1, 5.4.1.2 and 5.4.2.2) provide evidence of this lack of commitment and require urgent attention. The teacher unions should, through their code of conduct and disciplinary system, support the state and, if necessary, use the judiciary system to take appropriate action against teachers who engage in activities that derail the proper functioning of the school as well as impair the future of our children.

All educational issues, such as free education, rationalization and redeployment of teachers, salaries and other service benefits, should be addressed through discussions and negotiations by all role players, without disrupting the learning and teaching programmes. Actions such sexual abuse, drug and alcohol abuse, vandalism, murder and theft, of which some teachers and/or principals are guilty (see Africa Eye News Service in Daily Sun, 29/07/2004:4; African Eye News Service in The Star, 24/06/2004:2; Ahmed in Daily Sun, 03/06/2004:1; Thulo in Daily Sun, 10/06/2004:4; sections 4.4.1, 4.4.2 and 5.4.2.2), are punishable by law. Thus, teacher unions need to assist in expelling such perpetrators from their ranks.

On the part of the state, the following is recommended:

- * The state should acknowledge the role of teacher unions and allow them to pursue their goals within the limits of decent and responsible professional behaviour.
- * The state should acknowledge the professional role of teachers and give priority to the improvement of their working conditions and service benefits.
- * Teacher unions should be involved in professional related matters, such as curriculum changes, rationalization and redeployment of teachers and salaries. All educational issues, be they curricular issues, rationalization and

redeployment of teachers, salaries and other service benefits, should be addressed through discussions and negotiations without disrupting the learning and teaching programmes.

- * The state should, through its judiciary system, take appropriate actions ~~against~~ all teachers who engage in illegal, criminal activities.

Teachers and teacher unions should cooperate with the state and other role players for the educational welfare of children. Although the state is the main financing sector of the public school education as well as the employer of teachers., it should respect the integrity and independence of teacher unions. Mutual respect is essential for a sound relationship between the teacher unions and the state.

6.3.3 Promotion of a sound relationship between parents and the school

School education is an extension and progression of the education started at home. Parents are, therefore, important role players in the formal school education of their children (Macbeth 1989:1). They have a moral responsibility and obligation to ensure that their children receive quality education (Chinkada 1994:171ff). The active involvement of White parents in school education over the years in South Africa has ensured the maintenance of high standards of education in White schools (see sections 2.2.2.1(c) and (d)).

The historical review revealed that a contributing factor to the decline in the quality of education in historically Black schools was the lack of interest and involvement of many Black parents. Many Black parents, especially in rural and farm areas, do not offer the necessary support to teachers and the school. This was evident during the pre-apartheid era, the apartheid era, the transitional period as well as the democratic era (see sections 2.2.2.2(c) and (d), 4.3.8, 5.4.1.1 and 5.4.1.2). They have often failed to discharge the following essential parental duties:

- * Ensuring that their children attend school every day;
- * Checking their children's work and progress at school;
- * Supervising their children's homework;
- * Instilling and promoting proper behaviour in their children; and
- * Teaching respect and humaneness to their children.

Many Black parents tend to leave everything in the hands of teachers and yet expect good results at the end of the year. Subsequently, when the results are poor, they blame teachers (see sections 5.4.1.1 and 5.4.1.2). Teachers, on the other hand, regard the lack of parental interest and involvement in school education as the cause for the decline in educational quality in Black schools.

Blaming other stakeholders and the discontent between parents and teachers can be avoided through the promotion of a sound relationship and open communication channels between these two role players. To achieve such a relationship, both parents and teachers should adhere to certain obligations.

On the part of parents, it is recommended that they should:

- * Support their children's learning experiences and ensure that their children benefit from all school programmes and experiences by:
 - ensuring that their children attend school everyday;
 - supervising their children's home work/studies;
 - taking care of school textbooks and ensuring their return at end of year; and
 - motivating their children to be committed to their studies.

- * Nurture and inculcate good behaviour in children by:
 - encouraging cooperation with teachers and other learners;
 - instilling discipline and self control in learners which will reflect in good discipline at school; and
 - teaching awareness of the danger of drugs, pre-marital sex, crime and violence to their children.

- * Cooperate with and support the school in its attempt to improve educational provision and quality by:
 - attending school meetings regularly;
 - being involved in effective school governance, through participation in school governing bodies;
 - offering voluntary services to the school for school developments, such as painting and other repairs;
 - supporting schools' campaigns and projects (such as fund raising and school renovation projects); and
 - paying school fees.

The restoration of a culture of learning and teaching and the subsequent improvement in the education of public schools require parents to reclaim their rightful place and roles regarding the education of their children. Their active participation and support are imperative if the school is to achieve its goal of providing quality education.

On the part of teachers (school) the following is recommended:

- * Dedication and commitment to the teaching profession. Unprofessional conduct, including laziness, absenteeism, late coming or neglect of lesson

preparation (see sections 4.4.2 and 5.4.2.2) should be avoided.

- * Upholding of high professional standards in their interaction with the Department of Education, parents and learners.
- * Acting in *loco parentis* by showing care and commitment to the educational welfare of learners at school.
- * Liaising with parents on any problems related to learners and their learning.
- * Informing parents and keeping them abreast of school developmental needs and progress as well as problems encountered.
- * Meeting frequently with parents (for example, parent open-days) to discuss children' academic progress. Parents should also be allowed an opportunity to make inputs regarding the school's development and progress.

6.3.4 Encouraging learner commitment and involvement in education

The past disruptions and the crisis in historically Black schools in South Africa have left the new generation of learners without motivation, commitment and the failure to attach any significant value to education (see section 1.2). This is evident through, inter alia, the high level of absenteeism, laziness, neglect of school work, poor-discipline, absenting themselves from examinations, including the matriculation examination and /or dropping-out of school (see sections 4.4.1 and 5.4.1.1). Furthermore, some learners are engaging in anti-social activities, such as drug and

alcohol abuse as well as crime and violence (see section 5.4.1.2). Consequently, their academic performance, including the matriculation examinations, remains unsatisfactory (see section 5.4.1.1).

Public school education, and all the resources invested in it are for the benefit of the country, but specifically for the future of our children. Learners are, therefore, the main beneficiaries of the educational attempts and endeavours (The Teacher 2001:5). Therefore, every attempt at addressing the crisis in public education will not materialise as long as the main beneficiaries, (that is, learners) remain uninterested, uncommitted and uninvolved in the learning processes and programmes. The maintenance of high academic standards during the Union period was a result of, inter alia, the commitment, dedication and cooperation of learners (see section 2.2.2.2 (c)). Thus, learners need to be encouraged and motivated to:

- * realise the value of education and its impact on their future. They should be encouraged to commit themselves to ‘going-back-to-school’ and dedicating themselves to learning.
- * dissociate themselves from all anti-social and anti-learning activities. These include drugs and alcohol abuse, violence and criminal activities. They ~~should~~ be taught from an early age that such practices impair their educational opportunities and their future.

Parents, teachers and the entire South African society should join hands in encouraging learners to re-discover the value of education and to commit themselves to their studies.

6.3.5 Encouraging active participation and involvement of the business sector in the provision of public education

The historical review indicated that some local and overseas companies and agencies contributed towards the improvement of the provision of education in South African public schools (see sections 3.4, 4.3.2, 4.3.4 and 5.3.1.1). In addition to those mentioned in the previous chapters, these include the European Union, Japanese Grant for School Construction, Toyota Motor Company, Chrysler Motor Company, ABSA, Woolworths, Nelson Mandela Foundation and Telkom. Their involvement helped to improve the infrastructure of schools and to provide basic learning and teaching resources. Subsequently, “almost 30 000 new classrooms had been built over the past seven years, reducing the backlog by half”, the then National Education Minister, Kader Asmal, announced in his parliamentary debate on the 2003 education budget (Motale in *The Citizen*, 21/05/2003:5).

The achievements of the state in partnership with the business sector are laudable, and

further involvement of the business sector at all levels of public school education should be encouraged. Even small businesses in local rural areas could make donations towards school development.

6.3.6 Respect for the integrity and role of the school

The actions of learners and teachers, which resulted in the disruptions of the school's academic programmes over the years (see sections 3.3, 4.4 and 5.4.2.2), though motivated by unjust state actions, undermined the integrity of the school and its role. Instead of being a centre for effective teaching and learning, the school was turned into a battle field of struggles and confrontations. The increase in the level of violence in public schools (see section 5.4.1.2) further demeaned the nature and goal of school education.

If public schools in South Africa are to be centres for effective learning and teaching, the state, teachers, learners and all other role players should protect the integrity of schools and their functions. Disruptions to the schools' programmes, through boycotts and mass demonstrations, which are often used by teachers and learners as a way of pressurising the Education Department to address their demands and/or grievances, should be rejected.

6.3.7 Respect for learners' right to basic education

The disruptions to learning and teaching through teacher stay-aways (see sections 4.4.2 and 5.4.2.2) undermine and deny learners their constitutional right to a basic education (Section 29(1), The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Such disruptions have left many Black learners demotivated, frustrated and hopeless. They fail to attach value to education. This is evident through the high level of absenteeism, lack of commitment, poor-discipline, drug and alcohol abuse, crime and drop-out rate (see sections 5.4.1.1 and 5.4.1.2). Consequently, their academic performance is poor.

Regulations such as the following can contribute to the protection of learners right:

- * Teachers should not leave learners on their own, while they pursue their own during lessons while they attend to private affairs.
- * Should teachers wish to exercise their right to strike (see section 5.4.2.2), as provided for in the Labour Relations Act, 1995, it must be after school hours so that they do not infringe on the right of learners to learn.

6.3.8 Prescribing a national policy on and promoting teacher training

The recent rationalisation and redeployment programme (section 5.4.2.1) have led to a grave shortage of teachers, which needs to be addressed. The importance of an adequate supply of well-qualified teachers for quality education cannot be over-emphasised. To avoid any further crisis in the already strained education system, a continuous supply of well-qualified teachers has to be ensured. This is especially crucial in view of the need for a teaching corps qualified and skilled enough to manage the OBE curriculum (see section 5.2.5).

A clear national policy on teacher training and teacher education is needed. The following is recommended:

- * A provision of adequate state bursaries to support teacher training;
- * Training of more science, mathematics and technology teachers to address shortage in these fields;
- * Continued in-service training and development of teachers who were trained within the old curriculum in order to be adequately grounded in the new OBE curriculum;
- * Maintaining a balance in the training and supply of teachers at all school ~~phases~~ (that is, primary and secondary phases); and
- * Although OBE requires integrated teaching, teacher specialization is still important.

6.3.9 Investing in primary and junior secondary education

The South African government and the society as a whole have over the years attached great value to the matriculation results (see sections 2.2.2.2, 3.4.2, 4.4 and 5.4.1.1). Subsequently, every effort to improve the standard of education, has concentrated mainly on senior secondary education. The improvement of the matriculation results has been supposed to imply the improvement of the quality of education.

While it is true that the matriculation certificate crowns the learners' efforts after 12 years of schooling, the preparation thereof starts in the lower phases and progresses to the senior phases. This was evident during the period of the Union, where high standards of primary education resulted in high standards at secondary level (see sections 2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.2). Poor matriculation results could, therefore, be an indication of poor educational quality at primary and junior secondary phases. A breakdown in the culture of learning and teaching in these phases will, obviously, be reflected in the poor achievements at senior secondary phase.

Investing in the senior secondary education at the expense of the lower phases is not sound educational practice. It is recommended, thus, that more emphasis and a greater

investment should be directed at primary and junior secondary education as well. In the process the following should be considered:

- * Teacher INSET and developmental programmes should also embrace the primary and junior secondary phases.
- * Educational support, such as inspection and supervision, should also focus on those phases.
- * Enrichment programmes, especially OBE developmental programmes ~~should~~ be focused on primary and junior secondary phases.

6.3.10 Ensuring safety at schools

The historical review indicated that crime and violence have over the past years become a primary concern in South African public schools (see section 5.4.1.2). The eradication of crime and violence and the creation of a safe school environment are cardinal in any attempt to improve the standard of education in South Africa. The state's Tirisano project, which also promotes safety in schools (see section 5.3.2), is praise-worthy, but much still needs to be done to ensure safety, particularly in historically Black schools. All role players in education should help the state in cracking down on crime and on sexual abuse and physical violence in and around the school. The following are recommended to promote safety in public schools:

- * The adoption and implementation of safety policies at all schools. These policies should, among other things, prohibit all forms of abuse and criminal activities. Demonstrations and marches by learners, which frequently turn violent, should not be allowed.
- * Financial assistance to schools to ensure that they are properly fenced and secured. Schools should also be assisted to employ security personnel. Guidelines should also be provided and adhered to on how security personnel should ensure safety in schools.
- * Initiation of a programme whereby police frequently visit schools for monitoring purposes. They should, inter alia, search for drugs and dangerous weapons. Appropriate judicial measures should be instituted against perpetrators and/or culprits.
- * Encouraging community involvement (through community structures) in promoting and ensuring safety in local schools.
- * Encouraging parents to be responsible in the upbringing of their children at home. Parents should be warned that violent films and television programmes are not recommended for child viewing. It is from such programmes that children learn to condone violence and may even “start getting the idea that it’s cool to kill, because they frequently see their role-models killing each other” (The Teacher 2001:5).

- * Encouraging learners to participate in programmes aimed at promoting and building safety in schools. The involvement of learners should significantly increase their resilience to crime and violence.

The issue of safety in schools should not be left to or blamed on the state alone. It is the responsibility of all South Africans to tackle and fight crime and violence. It is everyone's non-negotiable intention to make our schools the centres of community life, havens of peace and not places of violence and conflict. No one person or agency can solve the current safety problems in schools. We should all respond positively to the following invitation made by the then Minister of National Education, Kader Asmal (The Teacher 2001:5): "I invite everyone to take an active role in sharing the vision of making learning institutions places of respect for human dignity, for the preservation of human life and where learners can celebrate their innocence".

6.3.11 Respect for the integrity and role of parents and autonomy of independent institutions

The state has, over the years, created friction and incited anger among parents by imposing on them policies which were not morally justified. This was evident during the Union, apartheid as well as during the present era (see sections 2.2.5, 3.2, 3.2.8, 5.2.7 and 5.2.8). In these instances, the state imposed policies to advance political

goals rather than educational ones. In the process, the interest of both learners and/or parents was sacrificed and jeopardised. This resulted in protest - ranging from violent protest and/or opting out of the state school system to court battles with the state (see sections 2.2.5, 3.2.8, 3.3, 5.2.7 and 5.2.8).

Such state policies indicate a lack of respect for the integrity and role of parents in the education of their children. Children belong to parents, and not the state, and, thus, parents' interest concerning the education and welfare of their children should be respected. This also applies to educational choice, be it choice of language medium, religious education or the choice of institution, whether state or private. It is, therefore, recommended that the state should respect the integrity of parents by:

- * avoiding imposing policies which are unpopular and, therefore, not morally justified;
- * respecting the interest of parents in issues such as religion, language, et ~~etc~~;
- * allowing parents freedom to decide what is educationally best and in their children' best interests; and
- * respecting the integrity and autonomy of independent institutions. Minority groups should be allowed to preserve their culture and pass it on to their children.

This study, on the role of the state in the establishment of a culture of learning and teaching in South Africa, revealed that formal school education in South Africa is in crisis. The standard of education is low and the quality of education is poor. The establishment and promotion of a culture of learning and teaching is imperative. From the historical study, one realises that the establishment and maintenance of a culture of learning and teaching, which will ensure high academic standards, is not an easy task. If history teaches us anything, it is that it is the responsibility of all South Africans, and not the state alone, to establish, nurture, maintain and promote a culture of learning and teaching in formal school education.

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